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A DESCRIPTION OF THE GBAYA PEOPLES LIVING IN THE DISTRICT OF BOSSANGOA IN THE NORTHWESTERN PART OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC IS PRESENTED IN THE INTRODUCTION TO THIS COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF THE GBAYA LANGUAGE. (THE LANGUAGE IS SPELLED VARIOUSLY BEA, GBEA, AND GBAYA.) IN THREE SECTIONS, THE FIRST PART OF THE TEXT DEALS WITH THE PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF GBAYA--BOUND MORPHEMES, DISTRIBUTION CLASSES, AND SYNTAX. A SAMPLE TEXT, RECORDED USING A GBAYA INFORMANT, AND A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT COMPLETE THE GRAMMAR SECTION. THE SECOND SECTION, SELECTED TEXTS TAKEN FROM THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION, CONSISTS OF NATIVE-SPEAKER NARRATIONS ON HUNTING, WARFARE, FAMILY RELATIONS, AND OTHER CULTURAL TOPICS. THE TEXTS ARE RECORDED IN PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION AND IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION. THE THIRD SECTION, VOCABULARIES, CONTAINS GBAYA-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-GBAYA GLOSSARIES, FOLLOWED BY A SUBJECT INDEX. A HIGH LEVEL OF LINGUISTIC SOPHISTICATION IS ASSUMED ON THE PART OF THE READER. THIS BOOK IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, BERKELEY, FOR $5.00. (AM)

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BY

WILLIAM J. SAMARIN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS
Volume 44

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INTRODUCTION

I

The Gbɛ́yá,[1] whose language is described in this grammar, are a people who mainly live in the District of Bossangoa of the Region of the Ouahm, in the northwestern part of the Central African Republic (formerly the territory of Ubangi-Shari of French Equatorial Africa).

They live almost entirely along the automobile roads, in villages consisting of from three to as many as 100 houses. Their livelihood depends on the food they grow (basically grain sorghum and manioc and such vegetables as peanuts, beans, okra, corn, etc.), gather (mushrooms, fruits, roots, leaves), raise (goats and chickens), and hunt (during the dry-season fires). Cash is obtained primarily through the annual sale of cotton and, to a lesser degree, peanuts. Only a very few have salaried occupations, and these live almost exclusively in the town of Bossangoa, the district and regional seat recently renamed sous-préfecture and préfecture respectively.[2]

The people call themselves as well as their language /gbɛ́yá/ (henceforth written Gbɛya).[3] This word is probably nothing more than an alternant of the form /gbáyá/, because of the common substitution of /a/ for /ɛ/, and vice versa, in free morpheme alternants within the Gbɛya language and between various Gbaya dialects (for which see 133.2). The name Gbaya is, in fact, the one usually used for the people and their language by the farther removed population of the country. To distinguish them from the other Gbaya, the name Bossangoa is added in attribution: Gbaya-Bossangoa, which distinguishes them from Gbaya-Carnot, Gbaya-Boda, etc. Where the people are generally known by some other name, even though speaking a related dialect or language, the word Gbaya is not generally used of them: Bofi [ʔbofi], Ali [arí], and Gbanu.

I have been using the word Gbɛya as if it identified either a well-recognized ethnic or linguistic community. This is not so. There is in fact only a large area where the inhabitants speak related dialects, some of which are called Gbaya, others Manza, others Gbanu, etc. Regardless of what may be the origin of these names, in my opinion they do not represent (except for the government which has always required the registration of a person's "race," as the word is used in French) either differentiated ethnic communities or dialects, a matter that has been discussed elsewhere.[4] Linguistically, we are dealing with a more or less homogeneous unit, on the one hand drastically differentiated at the extremes, where dialects are mutually unintelligible, but, on the other hand, only slightly, and sometimes erratically, differentiated at contiguous geographical points. If, for example, we were to start from Bossangoa, we should find that the Gbaya dialects spoken at such distant towns as Batangafo, Bouca, and Bozoum were mutually intelligible with that of Bossangoa.[5] The name of the supposed tribe or language is not indicative of this relationship, for I found at Bouca a man who considered himself a Manza but whose speech resembled that of Bossangoa more than that of Damara.

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[1] For notes to Introduction, see p. 6.

In the District of Bossangoa (henceforth referred to as the District), the government has differentiated between the Gbɛya and the "Souma" (/súma/) "races." The people, being required to register some "race" and having only two alternatives from which to choose, have made a rough division of the district along these lines. The border between the two is naturally poorly distinguished, although some individuals name such and such a village as the beginning of the Gbɛya or Suma area. In most cases, however, I found that it was always a distant village which was so identified, never a nearby one. For the sake of convenience, we might consider the villages of Bomatana (/ˀbo máátáná/) and Boguila (/ˀbo girá/) as being in the heart of the Suma area, for there is no doubt about them; all the people from around Bossangoa consider these two as Suma villages. On the other hand, the people of Boguila call those of Bangayanga (/gbaŋayaŋa/), whose idiom is very much like that of Bossangoa, gba súma 'the real Suma.'

For their possible ethnolinguistic value, I here give several other names: When at Bouca, I learned that the Gbaya of Bossangoa were called gbáyá kárá, but some of these in turn said that the kárá were at Bouar, others that the people of Lere (/ˀdɛ́rɛ/), 22 miles north, were kárá because "they talk fast." A Gbaya-speaking person at Batangafo called the Gbaya of Bossangoa gbáyá go go supposedly because of their very extensive use of the connective go 'and.' Most of the villages north of Bazian (/gba zįya/) are called ˀdɔɔ 'under' because they lie in the direction of the flow of the Ouahm (/wáam/) River. On the other hand, Bozoum would consider Bossangoa ˀdɔɔ. Those in Bozoum in turn are called Mbay. People in and around Bossangoa call the idiom of Bozanou gba mįri and of Bolio sore, because the latter say mbí instead of mí 'I' and líílo instead of rííto 'two.'

All of the idioms of the District are mutually intelligible.[6] In my own experience, I found that although I was understood by the people around Boguila, whom I shall henceforth call Suma for the sake of brevity, I sometimes had difficulty in understanding them unless they had lived out of their locale for several years. One possible explanation for this fact is speech accommodation. Suma speech was not studied and carefully compared with the one described here. It is different, however, in having words which bear no resemblance to the Gbɛya ones and in having other words which have different phonemic shapes (of which again many are patterned). The data that I did collect revealed the existence of three distinct levels of tone, on a phonetic level at least, and these were very often comparable to the three tones found in other Gbaya languages.

If we accept as a fact that the Suma who leave their villages tend to adopt the Bossangoa idiom and not vice versa, and if we take the fact, as was reported to me, that the younger people no longer use the Suma romi but Gbɛya ʔbú 'ten' as being indicative of a trend, we can assume that the Bossangoa idiom is the dominant one in the District.[7]

The Gbɛya language, like the other indigenous languages around it, is still very much alive, being the first-learned and native language of practically all of the Gbɛya children. Even at Bossangoa, where many Gbɛya are employed, the language continues to be used because of the preponderance of the Gbɛya. Although many of the people, and perhaps all males from adolescence to senility, are bilingual in Sango, the lingua franca, this language is used for purposes of communication only with non-Gbɛya-speaking individuals. French, on the other hand, is used only by a very small percentage of the population and only with Europeans and African évolués at Bossangoa. With only a relatively small percentage of the children now enrolled in schools taught in French, it is unlikely that the situation will change rapidly.[8] Two other languages are known to a significant but undetermined proportion of the population. In the northwest portion of the District, between Sido and Markounda, many of the Suma people, even women, know Kaba (a Central Sudanic language); in the northeast, east of Bolio, many men know Dagba (another Central Sudanic language, closely related to Ngambay); and east and south of Bossangoa many men know Banda. These are languages spoken at the limits of the Gbɛya area.

The Gbaya and related Manza dialects are, according to Greenberg, members of the Adamawa-Eastern branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages.[9] Previously, in his Studies in African Linguistic Classification (1955), he had assigned them to the Eastern branch which was coordinate with Adamawa. Other writers before him had used the term "Sudanic" of these languages.

II

I began the study of the Gbɛya language in February, 1954, and continued it in the field until February, 1960, except for the year from August, 1955 to August, 1956, which was spent in graduate study in linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. My introduction to Gbɛya was first made through the Sango language, which I had learned upon arriving in the country in 1952, but as soon as I was able to carry on conversation in Gbɛya, I avoided the use of Sango (that is, among the Gbɛya themselves) and never had to use it in the study of Gbɛya. The data upon which this grammar is based were collected during the five years I lived at the mission station at Bellevue, a little more than 21 miles from Bossangoa and worked in the District as a missionary. These data consist of (1) utterances extracted from spontaneous speech during hours with the informant (discussed in the following paragraph) and among the people, (2) an extensive lexical file in which most words are illustrated by use in sentences, (3) a collection of proverbs, riddles, personal names, dog names, and (4) texts recorded on tape by various individuals and transcribed with the help of my informant. The texts constitute about 1,100 lines of typewritten material, or about 16,800 words.

Much of the analysis incorporated in this grammar was begun while I was still in the field, but the full description was not realized until I was in residence at the University of California, Berkeley, where I was completing my doctoral work in 1960-1962. At that time I had all of my field notes, files, and tape-recorded material, but did not have the assistance of a Gbɛya-speaking informant.

The principal informant used in the field was Gounté (gun-́te 'base of tree') whose Christian name is Gédéon (that is, Gideon, but usually pronounced zede yɔ̂ɔ in Gbɛya.) He is also affectionately known by a nickname which is a play on his Christian name, namely, Juge 'judge' (usually pronounced zúzɛ). In recent years he has been assuming the name wí-ré bó zum ná 'there's no one on my head,' a lament on the absence of a large family.

The informant is now a resident of the village of Bazian, which is on the Bossangoa-Bozoum road, about 22 miles from Bossangoa. He was born in Bazian in 1926 to a Gbɛya father and a Banda mother. Living in a Gbɛya village, his first language was Gbɛya. It was not until about 1941 or 1942, when first his mother and then his father died, that he learned Banda at his mother's village, Ouga, which is located on the Bossangoa-Bossembele road, about 12 miles from Bossangoa. Prior to this time he had begun to learn French at the mission school at Bellevue (within walking distance of his home), which he began to attend at the age of eight. Because of the many non-Gbɛya people living near the mission station at that time, it is likely that he also began to learn Sango at the same time. He is therefore a polylingual, speaking Gbɛya, which he considers to be his native language, Sango, and Banda; he appears never to have learned to speak French. Around 1940, during a meningitis epidemic, Gounté contracted the disease, which resulted in his becoming blind. Unlike several other blind men whom I personally know, Gounté never became a social liability. Because of his valiant spirit and his intelligence, he has continued to be a leader in the community. Not the least of his accomplishments was the ability to read Sango in Braille, a skill that was taught to him by Miss Clara Schwartz.

The present grammar is a description of the Gbɛya dialect spoken in and around the town of Bossangoa which is often identified by the people of the District as nú-ʔbo oro 'language of the ʔbo oro settlement' (written Boro in the official papers). This does not mean, however, that we are dealing with a very neatly defined dialect. My description is not restricted to Bossangoa alone, for I am certain that the structure here described is that of the dialects of a large area surrounding the town of Bossangoa. Even the shapes of the morphemes are characteristic, I think, of many of the nearby dialects. This is to say that this description characterizes in most points a single language spoken in an extensive area, only minimally distinguished into dialects.

On the other hand, I have no idea at what points and where geographically this description begins to fail. To acquire this information one would need to make an intensive comparison of the dialects, which I was never able to do. But having traveled in the area and having spoken to hundreds of people from different parts of the region, I have obtained some scattered data on dialect differences. Wherever pertinent, I have noted them.

Almost every bit of linguistic data I collected was checked with the informant. This means that when at Kouki I noted a word which was new to me, it was not entered in the lexical file without first being checked with the informant. Since most of the entries were made in a hurry, interrupting a conversation, I could not be certain of their accuracy. If, therefore, the informant gave a different pronunciation, I had to assume, in the absence of a speaker from Kouki, that my original notation was faulty. In those instances where I was certain of the entries, however, I could record the form with the note on its use.

In one respect, therefore, this is a description of an idiolect, the speech of my informant. But since it is so characteristic of the speech in a large area surrounding the town of Bossangoa, it is also a description of a language. This is the realistic approach, I think. A language is spoken by people, not by one individual. This individual, here my informant, shares in a mutual process of communication in which his speech is influencing and being influenced by another's speech. This is why my informant can use the Suma word tori instead of toy 'baggage,' and then, when it was pointed out to him, could say, "Why not? We can use it too." Other speakers of theoretically the same dialect might not use this word, for they may never have been to Boguila. On the other hand, they may have picked up the habit of using [š] and [ž], at least in some words, from another area. The result is that I point out, in the latter case, that the language has two allophones of the phoneme /s/ whereas my informant, as far as I know, uses only the allophone [s].

III

In this grammar the sections are numbered on the basis of a decimal system, the extreme limit of which is 999.999. Each chapter is arbitrarily given one of the highest possible figures: Chapter one is therefore 100.000. Successive subdivisions within each chapter are numbered within this limit, the limit being five. For the sake of convenience, however, numbers to the right of the decimal point are not added until needed. Thus 152 is read as though it were 152.000, and 152.31 as though it were 152.310, etc.

The format of this grammar is determined in part by the requirements of the printing process being used. For this reason, for example, underlining is avoided as a substitute for italics. It disfigures the cedilla used to indicate nasalization and otherwise makes a page unsightly. Cross-references between the Gbɛya examples and their translations is meant as a partial substitute for more or less literal translations. The literal translation can be arrived at without too much difficulty, in any case, with the aid of the word-lists. These examples, incidentally, are not ad hoc. With only a few exceptions they are drawn from the tape-recorded texts. If there is some inconsistency in the phonemic shape of some morphemes it is because there is some variation in the texts themselves. For example, both kóm and kɔ́m 'of me' and bó rɛ́ and bɛ́ rɛ́ 'when we' occur. These examples lead to the final comment about the appearance of the grammar: Some might find the notation extremely disjunctive, feeling, for example, that bɛ́ rɛ́ should be written bɛ́rɛ́. The justification for the notation used in this grammar is that it is based on phonological criteria, not grammatical. Concerning this matter more is said in the proper place.

IV

Acknowledgements are due several people, and it is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to mention their names. First of all is my friend and helper Gédéon Gounté who aided me in learning his language. What I gave him in remuneration for his assistance was far too little to fully compensate him for his faithful cooperation in the task of analyzing Gbɛya. The Foreign Missionary Society of the Brethren Church, under whom I served as a missionary in the Central African Republic, also receives my thanks and gratitude for making it possible for me to undertake my doctoral studies which led to the writing of this grammar. There are several people too who read the manuscript at one stage or another: J. Edward Gates, Pierre Alexandre of the École Nationale des Langues Orientales et Vivantes (Paris), and the members of my dissertation committee, Drs. Murray B. Emeneau, C. Douglas Chrétien, and David L. Olmsted. Other people did not directly influence me in the writing of this grammar, but because they contributed to my early formation as a linguist, I should like to express my indebtedness to Drs. Mary Haas, Eugene A. Nida, and Kenneth L. Pike. More recently, Dr. Henry Allan Gleason, Jr. engaged me in stimulating conversation concerning several points in this work. Finally, one nonlinguist had much to do with this grammar, my wife. In no way is the final analysis the result of her influence, but its very existence is due in a large measure to her sympathetic and loyal support.

Notes to Introduction

[1] Their name has also been spelled Bea, Gbea, Gbeya, and it would not be surprising to find spellings with 'i' instead of 'e.'

[2] Originally, we are told, the name was ˀbo zaŋ wa, but now, because of the official spelling, it is pronounced ˀbosaŋgowa, ˀbosaŋ wa, or even with a simple /b/. One person was heard to say ˀbesaŋgowa, and she was a Gbɛya. This is the name spelled by Van Bulck as Bosengwa in the Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderline (p. 106). The population of Bossangoa in July 1962, according to a responsible person in the local school system, was about 18,000. The same individual gave 107,386 as the figure for the total population of the Sous-Préfecture of Bossangoa. This figure was broken down into the following categories: hommes 25,647; femmes 30,538; garçons 26,202; filles 24,999. (Works cited with incomplete documentation are more fully documented in the selected bibliography.)

[3] Unless otherwise specified, all citations here and in the chapter on phonology are in morphophonemic writing: solidi (/ /) represent phonemic and brackets ([ ]) phonetic transcription.

[4] See Samarin, 1958.

[5] When I speak of "Gbaya dialects" or "Gbaya languages" in this way, I am perhaps being as parochial as Van Bulck was when he called the speech of the districts of Buka (ordinarily written Bouca), Batangafo, and Bossangoa a Manza dialect (L.S.N.B.B., p. 106). It is actually no more accurate to say that the Manza speak a Gbaya dialect than it is to say that the Gbɛya speak a Manza dialect. But for the sake of convenience one term must be adopted, and since the name Gbaya is the most widespread, this is perhaps the best one.

[6] The term "idiom" is used to refer to a speech type not yet classified as to dialect or language. See Werner Winter, "Yuman Languages I: First Impressions," International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol.23 (1957), p. 18, footnote 4.

[7] It is my impression that, except for the local village "chiefs," the administrative personnel (when it was recruited from the District) usually was Gbɛya-speaking. This would be easily explained: Until recently there were no schools among the Suma, whereas, at Bossangoa, children found it easier to go to school and find employment with the Europeans. All of the literature published by the Mission Evangélique, it should be added, is in the Gbɛya idiom with no attempt at accommodation to the Suma idiom.

[8] Figures on the percentage do not seem to be available according to George H. T. Kimble in his Tropical Africa (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1960). If my unofficial source is correct in giving the figure of 23 percent for the adjoining administrative region, the seat of which is Bozoum, it might be as high for the Ouahm Préfecture. It seems, however, rather high.

[9] Greenberg, The Languages of Africa. The total number of Gbaya speaking people can only be estimated. It would include those who live in the Congo and the Cameroun as well as the Central African Republic. Van Bulck (L.S.N.B.B.) gives a figure of 500,000, but it is unclear whether these live only in the C.A.R. or whether some other areas are included. The number 600,000 for the entire area would not seem to be an exaggerated one.

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The following is a selected bibliography of the Gbaya-Manza-Ngbaka languages. For the most part these works are linguistic in nature, but a few others have been included because of their usefulness as sources of information concerning the people or their culture. Not listed is the religious literature published either by the British and Foreign Bible Society or the American and Swedish (Protestant) mission societies working in the Cameroun, the Central African Republic, or the Congo (formerly Belgian).

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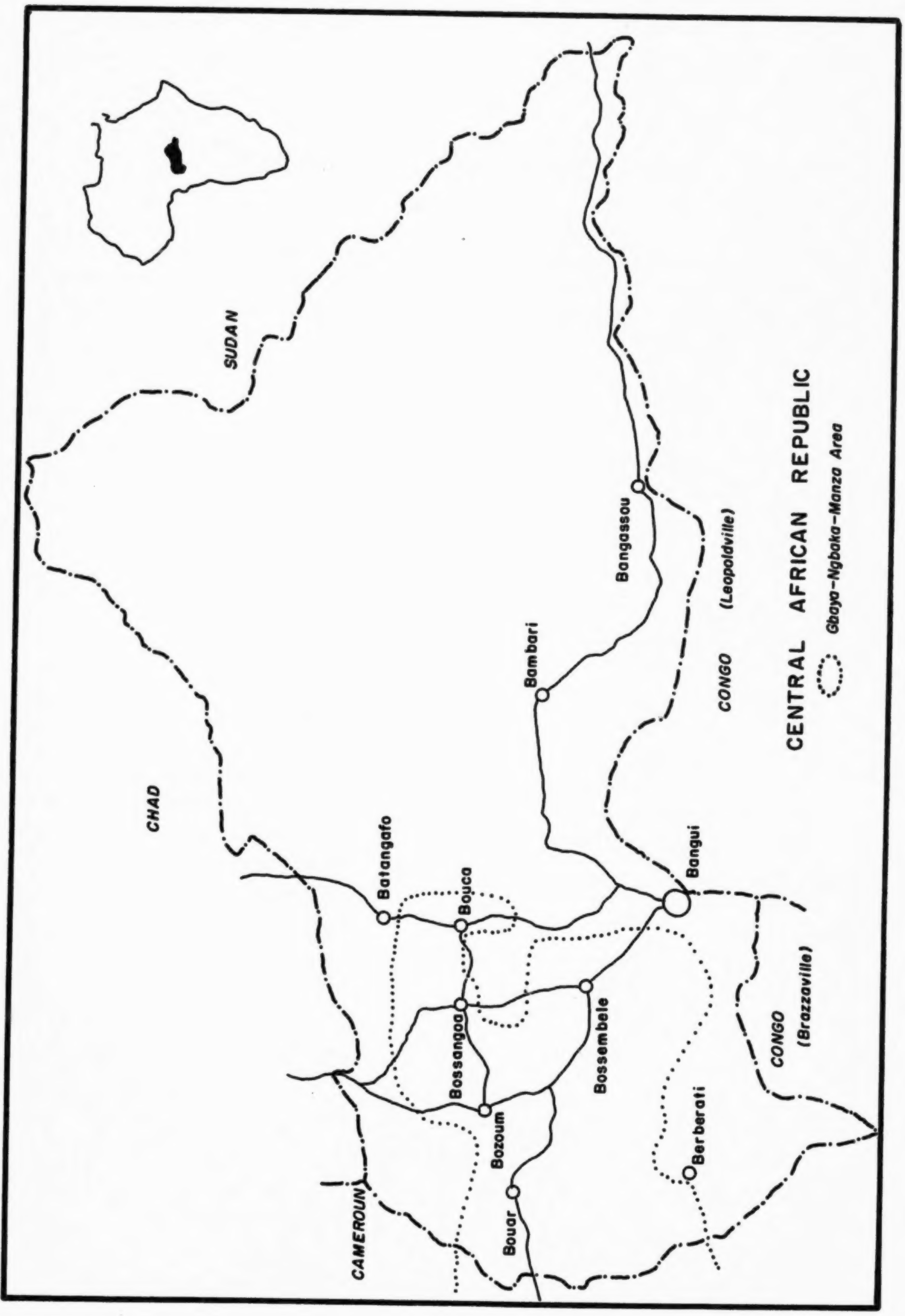
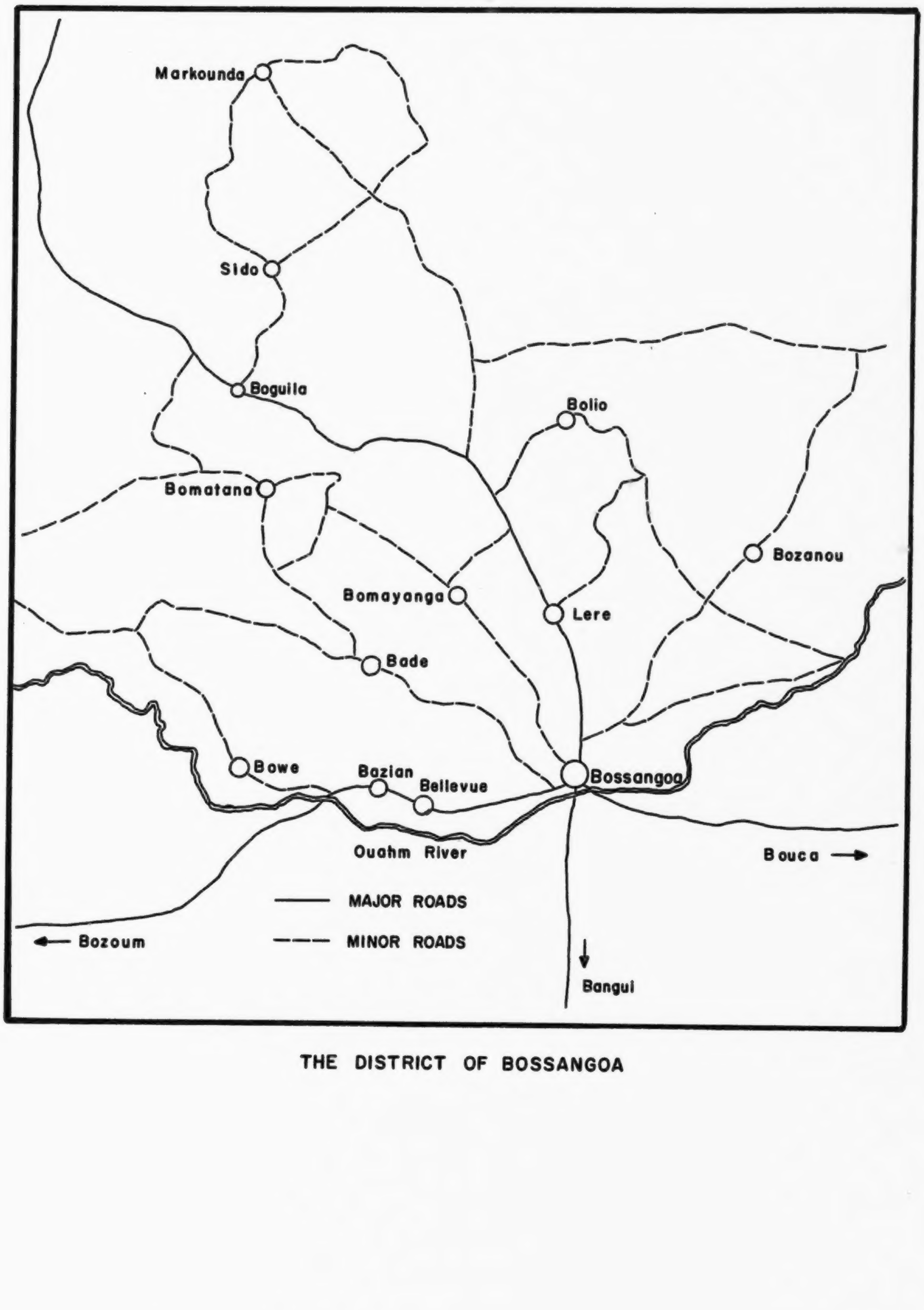
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Explanations of abbreviations and symbols are given at their first appearance in the grammar. The use of some is restricted to a few pages; others are more widely used. The following is only a partial list:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aux.	auxiliary
AV	auxiliary verb
C	consonant
conn.	connective
cop.	copula
ctn.	certain
DA	descriptive adverb
dem.	demonstrative
dep.	dependent
desc.	descriptive
det.	determinant
fn.	footnote
f.p.	final particle
imperf.	imperfective
inter.	interrogative
N, n.	noun
neg.	negative
NP	noun phrase
obj.	object
P, pl.	plural
pc.	postclitic
perf.	perfective
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
QV	quotative verb
S, sg.	singular
subj.	subject
suf.	suffix
trans.	transitive
V, v.	verb, vowel
VP	verb phrase
~	alternates with
=	equals, literally translated as
1S, 1P	first person singular, first person plural


CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Gbaya-Ngbaka-Manza Area
SUDAN
CHAD
CAMEROUN
CONGO (Leopoldville)
CONGO (Brazzaville)
Batangafo
Bouca
Bossangoa
Bozoum
Bouar
Bossembele
Bangui
Bambari
Bangassou
Berberati


Markounda
Sido
Boguila
Bolio
Bomatana
Bozanou
Bomayanga
Lere
Bade
Bowe
Bazian
Bellevue
Bossangoa
Ouahm River
Bouca →
MAJOR ROADS
MINOR ROADS
← Bozoum
Bangui

THE DISTRICT OF BOSSANGOA

GRAMMAR

CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

In this section are treated the phonemes, both primary (110) and secondary (120), morphophonemics (130), the extra-phonemic characteristics of the language (140), and assimilation of loan-words (150).

For the sake of reference the phonemes are here summarized:[1]

Consonant phonemes: /p t k kp ʔ b d g gb mb nd ŋg ŋmgb ʔb ʔd ʔm ʔn
m n ŋ ŋm w y v̌ r l f s h v z/.
Vowel phonemes: /i e ɛ a u o ɔ/.
Tones: high (/´/) and low (unmarked).
Nasalization: /˛/.
Juncture: word division.
Pause: /,/.
Terminal contours: /./, /?/, /!/, and /!!/.

110. The primary phonemes of Gbɛya are consonantal (111), vocalic (112), and tonal (113). The sections on consonants and vowels each have a section treating their distribution as well as one treating their production.

111. Consonant phonemes.

Chart of Consonants[2]

STOPS	Egressive	p b	t d	k g	kp gb	ʔ
	Prenasalized	mb	nd	ŋg	ŋmgb	
	Ingressive	ʔb	ʔd	"glottalized"		
NASALS	Preglottalized	ʔm	ʔn			
	Plain	m	n	ŋ	ŋm	
FLAPS	Semivowels	w	y			
	Flaps	v̌	r			
	Continuant		l			
SPIRANTS		f v	s z			h

111.1. Description of consonants. The consonant system is characterized by the following points of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, postdental, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal. There are in addition the following types of contrast: voicing vs. unvoicing, oral rarification vs. absence of rarification (in injective vs. egressive), single vs. doubled stops, stops vs. spirants vs.

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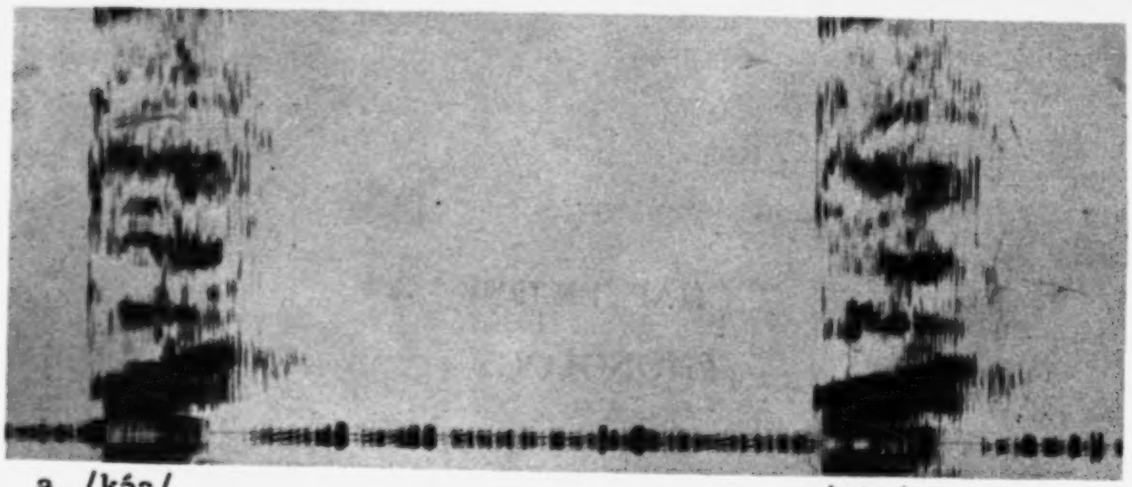
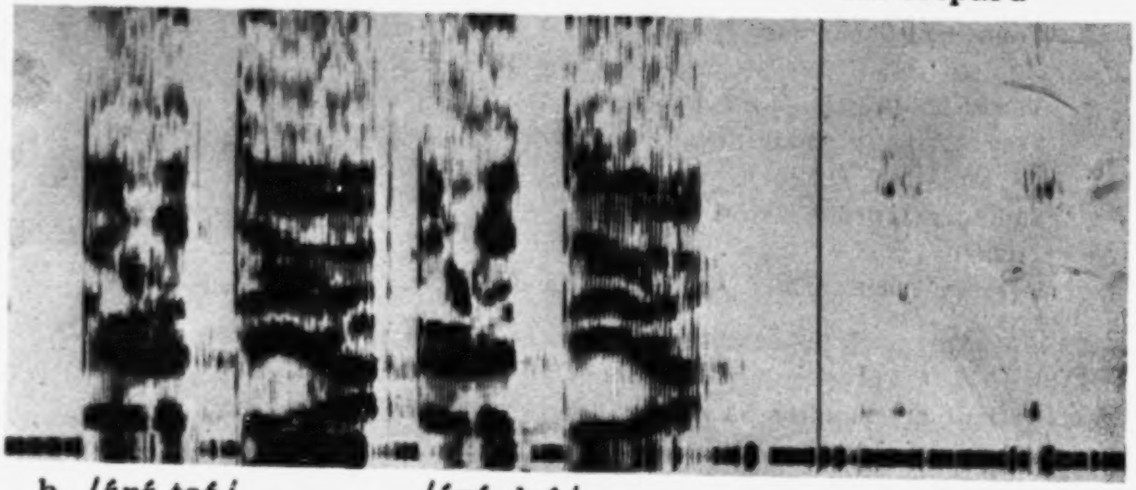
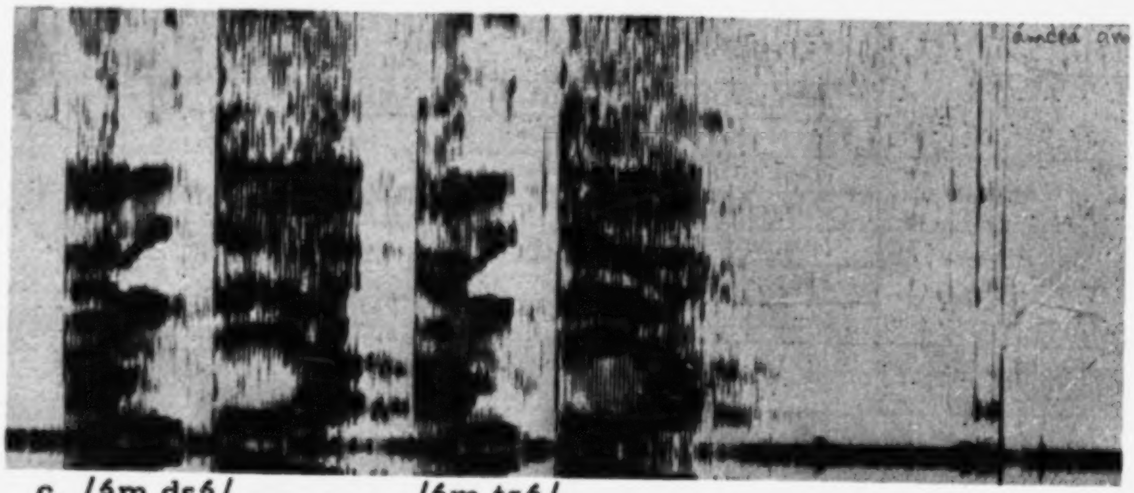
[1] For notes to Chapter One, see p. 41.



a. /kɔ̨́a/ 'the hole' /gɔ̨́a/ 'the leopard'



b. /ɛ́rɛ́ tɛá/ 'we came' /ɛ́rɛ́ dɛá/ 'we did'



c. /ám dɛá/ 'I did' /ám tɛá/ 'I came'

Fig. 1. Broad band sonograms of three paired utterances

nasals, and continuant vs. flap. In the following paragraphs, the order of presentation is different from that in the chart. For example, glottal stop is discussed after the prenasalized stops.

The egressive stops are of two series, voiceless and voiced, and are either single or doubled. The single stops occur at bilabial, apico-postdental, and dorsovelar positions: /p t k b d g/. The double stops consist of an articulation at both the lips and the velum simultaneously, producing /kp gb/. The voiceless stops are usually slightly aspirated, more so than the double stops. The voiced stops, on the other hand, were often heard (outside of citation forms) as voiceless stops, but never aspirated (see accompanying figure).[3] The contrast between the voiced and voiceless series of plain stops is attested by the following examples:[4]

gan 'to surpass'	kan 'to swear'
gɔ̨ 'to hang (something)'	kɔ̨ 'to agree'
day 'to raise (animals)'	tay 'to wash (parts of body)'
dɛ 'to make, do'	tɛ 'to come'
dɔ 'to roast'	tɔ 'to be sharp'
dam 'to be sufficient'	tam 'to feel by touching'
gba 'to split'	kpa 'to find'
gbo 'to arrive'	kpo 'to tie on'
gba 'to appear'	kpay 'to cross (sticks)'
gay 'to scare'	kay 'to take (pl.)'

The voiced injective (implosive) stops /ʔb/ and /ʔd/ are articulated at the same points as their egressive counterparts. Their production (by the rarification of the oral cavity) is similar enough to injectives of other African languages so that no further description is needed here.[5] The contrast between egressive and injective voiced stops is attested by the following examples:

ba 'to take'	ʔba 'to disavow'
bɛr- 'to pound'	ʔbɛ̨r- 'to prevent'
bi 'to extinguish'	ʔbi 'to pick (fruit)'
dik 'to thunder'	ʔdik 'to sift'
dɔk 'to be much'	ʔdɔk 'to be weak'
du 'to make (fire)'	ʔdu 'to draw (water)'
gede 'certain tree'	geʔde 'buttock'

The prenasalized stops /mb nd ŋg ŋmgb/ are phonetically complex segments consisting of voiced stops of the same point of articulation as the plain egressives preceded by very briefly articulated homorganic nasals. They contrast with plain nasals and with stops in the following words:

ba 'to take'	mba 'to greet'
dak 'to extract'	ndak 'to chase'
guri 'to smoke (meat)'	ŋguti 'to become burnt'
mar- 'to tie on waist'	mbar- 'to be tight'
nɔ 'to drink'	ndɔ 'to have sexual intercourse'
ŋmą y 'to split'	ŋmgban 'to uproot'

A word concerning the phonemicization of the prenasalized stops (as well as the preglottalized nasals) is appropriate here. The principal reason for considering them unit phonemes is one of "pattern pressure": since the language is generally characterized by unit phonemes in initial position, it is justifiable to consider these such. We are, of course, not forced into this position, for we must expect and can allow for asymmetry. We could therefore say that no consonant clusters except these occur in initial position. Adopting this alternative, we would have six less phonemes than we now have, but we would have introduced the necessity of making other statements. For example, /m n ŋ/ would not only occur in initial and final positions defined in footnote 16, but they would also precede /b d g/. Moreover, the description of the canonical forms would be made somewhat more complex by having to state that, in addition to the forms CV and CVCV, there can be CCV and CCVCV or CCVCCV but only when a nasal is followed by a homorganic stop or preceded by a glottal stop. And, in the description of the distribution of glottal stop, we would have to say that it occurs intervocalically and before /m/ and /n/, but only when these are not followed by a stop. All of these statements are, of course, possible. Perhaps it is only a matter of esthetics whether we choose to have six additional phonemes and fewer statements or fewer phonemes and more statements. I feel that my analysis is certainly more convenient, and the least that can be said of it is that it does no injustice to the data.

The orthographic representation of these prenasalized stops is obviously conventional. They could have been represented as b̃ or ^{N}b or in some similar fashion. A more significant feature of these stops is their distribution with respect to nasalized vowels: These stops never precede or follow vocalic nasalization. An attempt was made to incorporate vocalic nasalization and preconsonantal nasalization in an analysis that might eliminate the prenasalized stop series, but it was given up for the one adopted here. For those who might want to compare Gbɛya phonology with that of other languages, it should be said here that nowhere are there syllabic nasals in Gbɛya except in the speech of the people north of Sido which is clearly influenced by Kaba, where syllabic nasals are frequent. There is therefore no contrast between [^{m}ba] and [m-ba].

The glottal stop has allophones [ʔ] and [zero] which alternate freely between vowels in close juncture and before vowels following pause or open juncture. In this latter, called initial, position [ʔ] occurs when something is being emphasized, but since there are so few words with initial [ʔV], this is not common. In medial position [ʔ] occurs in only the following words: yaʔa 'grandmother,' naʔa 'mother,' and bɔʔ̃ɔ used to intensify possession.[6] Except for a few interjections in which [ʔ] always seems to occur (náʔá 'surprise,' įʔí 'no'), the orthographic convention is adopted that /ʔ/ shall not be written.

The spirants consist of labiodental voiceless and voiced /f/ and /v/, apicoalveolar /s/ and /z/, and voiceless /h/. Of these, only /s/ and /z/ have acoustically detectable allophones. Both of them have laminoalveolar grooved allophones [š] and [ž] as well as nongrooved ones. These grooved allophones are very much like the English phones in articulation. The grooved and nongrooved allophones freely vary in all positions where the phonemes can occur, but the occurrence of the grooved allophones is dialectally determined.[7] This is to say that more grooved allophones occur in the speech of people in the area between Bossangoa and Lere (ʔdɛ́rɛ) than in other areas. They are, however, not absent in some other areas although I never recorded any for the speech of my informant. The spirants are illustrated by the following words:

soy 'to sit down'	zoy 'to bathe'
sɔk 'to become mature'	zɔk 'to see'
sɔn 'to be finished'	zɔn 'to admire'
fara 'place'	vará 'iron money'
fey 'death'	fɔrɔ 'elephant'
fére 'crocodile'	vúla 'pimple'
vúmɔ́ 'hair'	vuy 'to mix'
ha 'to give'	hɛ 'to buy'

The sonorants consist of nasals and liquids.

The nasals consist of simple, double, and preglottalized phonemes. The simple nasal phonemes are /m n ŋ/ and are articulated at bilabial, postdental, and velar positions respectively. The double—or coarticulated—nasal /ŋm/ parallels the double stops in that it consists of [ŋ] and [m] produced simultaneously. The preglottalized nasals /ʔm ʔn/ differ from /m n/ only by the glottal closure which immediately precedes the articulation of the nasal continuant. There is no perceptible transition following the opening of the glottis.[8]

The simple and double nasal phonemes contrast in the following words:

kam 'food'	kan 'torch'
dam 'to be adequate'	daŋ 'to climb'
mą 'to appear (out of ground or water)'	ŋma 'to press down'

Preglottalized nasals contrast with plain nasals in the following examples:

mą 'to plant (cuttings)'	ʔma 'to open (fist)'
mar- 'to tie on waist'	ʔmar- 'to squeeze, wring'
mam 'to laugh'	ʔmam 'to get hold of'
naŋ 'to be inadequate'	ʔnaŋ 'to ruin'
nɔm 'to soak'	ʔnɔŋ 'to push'
nun 'to smell'	ʔnum 'to enter (water)'

Other examples of the preglottalized nasals: ʔmąa 'rainy season,' ʔmɛ 'to render judgment,' ʔmɛn 'to clean out, shell (peas, beans),' ʔmɛ̨r- 'to prevent,' ʔmɔn 'to remain,' ʔmųk 'to become rotten (of tree),' ʔmųr- 'to clench (fist),' ʔnɛŋ 'to chop off (branches).'[9]

The liquids consist of continuants /w l y/ and flaps /v̌ r/.

The voiced lateral apico-postdental continuant /l/ alternates in some words with /r/, for which see below, but it is phonemically distinct:[10]

délé 'chaff'	bere 'breast'
ala 'grief'	baraka 'matchete'
ʔbɛla 'trouble'	bɛ́ra 'gourd'
bolo 'certain tree'	boro 'iron'
dolo 'rat snare'	dóro 'certain fish'

dila 'lion'	biro 'strife'

The semivowels /y w/ differ from their vocalic counterparts /i u/ by being nonsyllabic, less tensely articulated, and of briefer duration. Both semivowels have oral and nasalized allophones, the former occurring contiguous to oral vowels and the latter to nasalized vowels. The allophone [ỹ] moreover sometimes sounds very much like a lamino-alveolar nasal [ñ] except that [ỹ] is not produced by any noticeable contact at the palate.

The phonemicization of the phonetic segments [i], [y], [u], and [w] posed the greatest problem in the analysis of this part of the language. Because the discussion sheds much information about the phonological structure of Gbɛya, the following somewhat lengthy sections are justified. The phones [u] and [w] are included because of their near-identical distribution with [i] and [y].

The analysis of these phonemes involved two problems: (a) identification of the phonetic segments, and (b) identification of the phonemes. These are discussed in the following paragraphs:

(a) Identification of the segments. The segments [y] and [w] occur initially and medially, and only [y] occurs finally. In initial position there is no problem in perceiving the nonsyllabicity of either one of them. In final position, I sometimes had difficulty in distinguishing between [i] and [y]. In intervocalic position, the problem was even greater; it is dealt with below. In initial position [y] occurs before any vowel, and [w] before any but [į ɛ̨ ų]. For example:

[yíí] 'certain reed'	[wí] '2P pron.'
[yél̆é] 'certain basket'	[we] 'to measure out'
[yɛk] 'to shake'	[wɛl̆-] 'to lean (something)'
[yu] 'to flee'	[wuki] 'certain wild vine'
[yo] 'skin, hide'	[wol̆o] 'hole'
[yɔ] 'to get lost'	[wɔ] 'hunger'
[ya] 'to be (pl.)'	[wa] '3P pron.'
[ỹįl̆įl̆į] 'thin'	---
[ỹɛ̨l̆-] 'to be far'	---
[ỹųtųtų] 'many (such as, chicks)'	---
[ỹɔ̨ỹ] 'to stretch out'	[w̃ɔ̨ɔ̨] 'many (people)'
[ỹą́] 'sibling'	[w̃ą́] 'leaf'

In final position [y], never [w], occurs after most of the vowels, but never after [i]. The following examples show the contrast between [i] and [y] in this position:

[l̆ífíí] 'your (pl.) face'	---
[léféí] 'your tongue'	[wey] 'fire'
[gɛ́l̆ɛ́í] 'your neck'	---
[kúí] 'your leg'	[nduy] 'certain mouse'
[gol̆óí] 'your knee'	[kóy] 'squirrel'
[kɔ́í] 'of you'	[mbɔy] 'money'
[tai] 'the stone'	[tay] 'to wash'

In medial position, that is, intervocalically, however, the occurrence of [y] or [w] is somewhat correlated with certain combinations of either front or back vowels or both. For example, only [y] occurs between front or between back vowels[11] such as, [fíye] 'where?' [wɛyɛ] 'certain necklace,' [buyuu] 'descriptive of many people talking at once,' [vúyó] 'deception,' [foyo] 'shame,' [zɔ́kɔyɔ́] 'certain soft stone.'

Other combinations can not be stated so simply. Mixed clusters of back and front vowels occur with both [y] and [w]. For example, there are [ɔyɛ] and [ɔwɛ] as well as [ɛyɔ] and [ɛwɔ]. This means that the occurrence of these nonsyllabic segments is not predictable: between the vocoids in [ɔ...ɛ] and [ɛ...ɔ] occur both [u]-like and [i]-like glides. These phonetic considerations are raised, for one must decide whether or not there are indeed segments requiring identification with the semivowel phonemes.

The problem would be somewhat simplified if we could clearly distinguish, say, between intervocalic glides with the same articulation (of tenseness and roundness) of initial [y] and [w], intervocalic glides of less tenseness and roundness, and an absence of any glide.

My field notes do not indicate such neat distinctions, yet we can proceed with certain assumptions to test their value in the phonemic analysis. Let us suppose that in many cases what I wrote as a glide was not a phonetic segment roughly equivalent in length with [i] or [u], or [l] or [k] for that matter, but a transition from one vocoid to another. We could say then that [fiyo] 'fetish' and [tuwa] 'house' were really [fio] and [tua]. The limitation of this maneuver is that we can make only one relatively insignificant general statement as to when [y] and [w] should be eliminated: A predictable nonphonemic glide occurs between unlike front vowels. But, as a matter of fact, only [fíye] 'where?' and possibly [fíyɛ] 'there' are involved. All other combinations of unlike front as well as back vocoids (where [w] is involved) either do not occur or else are not possible in terms of the structural patterns (for which see 112.2). The remaining combinations consist of front, back, and central vowels. For these, no possible noncontradictable statement is possible. In other words, any statement would be entirely arbitrary. Since, for example, both [y] and [w] occur between combinations of front and back as well as back and front vocoids (cited above), we could only arbitrarily decide to eliminate one of them. Such a measure might be practically desirable but not scientifically justifiable.[12]

I am thus tempted to go back to correct the transcriptions. Two other facts prevent my doing so. In the first place, there is the contrast between [hɛyɔɔ] '(of working) without enthusiasm' and [hɛwɔɔ] '(of bird gliding down for landing) slowly.' Although one might assume, on the basis of the nature of the vocoids involved and of the other patterned correlations, that both a [y] and [w] glide were possible here, there is a meaning difference that must be correlated with either [y] or [w] since the forms are otherwise identical. (This difference is substantiated by the fact that my informant reported that the form [hɛlɔɔ] was the "same" in meaning as [hɛwɔɔ], but no such identification was made with [hɛyɔɔ].)

In the second place, there are words containing a disputed [y] which are matched by free morpheme alternates containing undisputed [y]. Rather than arbitrarily eliminating the glide in one, it seems preferable to maintain the similarity between both words. It can be argued that if [y] occurs in one word, it probably (but not necessarily) would occur in the other. For example,

[gbɛ́yá] ~ [gbáyá]

Here follow examples of sequences of vowels which occur in monomorphemic words only with intervening [y], only with [w], or with either [y] or [w].

Vowel-clusters with intervening [y]:

[i...e]	[íye] 'where?' [tiyé] 'entirety'
[i...ɛ]	[gɛl̆iyɛŋ] 'wide'
[i...o]	[fiyo] 'fetish'
[i...ɔ]	[giyɔɔ] 'leaning because of drowsiness'
[i...a]	[ʔbiya] 'comrade'
[ɛ...a]	[gbɛ́yá] 'Gbɛya'

Vowel-clusters with intervening [w]:

[e...o]	[íéwóó] 'quiet'
[u...e]	[zuwé] 'certain aquatic reptile'
[o...e]	[kowé] 'whooping cough'
[a...ɔ]	[káwɔ] 'cow bird (egret)'

Vowel-clusters with intervening [y] or [w]:

[i...u]	[hiyuu] '(floating) swiftly'
	[híyúú] ~ [híwúú] 'quiet'
[ɛ...ɔ]	[hɛyɔɔ] 'without enthusiasm,'
	[kɛwɔ kɛwɔ] (same as [kɛr kɛr]) 'quickly'
[u...ɛ]	[kuyɛɛ] 'white (of hair),'
	[ndúwɛ́ɛ́] 'just visible (sprouts)'
[u...a]	[guya] 'certain ant,' [duwa] 'goat'
[ɔ...ɛ]	[lɔ́yɛ́ɛ́] 'short (pejorative)'
	[tɔwɛ] 'kidding remark'
[ɔ...a]	[ɔya] 'certain fish,' [kɔwa] 'baby-carrying sling'
	[ŋgɔyá] 'bush pig,' [ŋgowa] 'adze'
[a...u]	[kąyųm] 'descriptive of noise made by something being put in hot oil,'
	[vawuu] ~ [viyuu] 'many (pieces of paper)'
[a...o]	[kayó] 'certain tree,' [lawo] 'wart-hog tusk,' [pawo] 'knife'
[a...a]	[kaya] 'roan antelope,' [zawa] 'peanut'
[a...i]	[ŋgawíya] 'certain bird' (so named because of the cry it makes)
[a...ɛ]	[aáyɛ] 'this one' (unless [-yɛ] is analyzed as a morpheme)

The following are examples of sequences of vowels where there is an intervening [y] followed by [i]:

[e...i]	[weyi] 'the fire'
[u...i]	[nduyi] 'the mouse'
[o...i]	[kóyi] 'the squirrel'
[ɔ...i]	[mbɔyi] 'the wealth'
[a...i]	[tayi] 'the washing'

(b) Identification of the phonemes. The preceding data are now summarized and the choice of the phonemicization explained.

The segments [i] and [u] are in complementary distribution with [y] and [w] in initial position and intervocalically, but in final position they contrast. The distributions are stated formulaically with # representing pause or juncture. For example:

[i] and [u] occur in #...C, C...C, and V...#. For example:

[íni] 'urine,' [húfúl̆ú] 'steam'

[bil̆i] 'baboon,' [pím] 'tsetse fly,' [bul̆o] 'certain small antelope,' [dṳm] 'to spear'

[kói] 'the woman,' [kúí] 'your (pl.) legs'

[y] and [w] occur in #...V, V...V (in which, however, [iyi] and [uwu] do not occur), and V...# (in which [y] never follows [i] and [w] does not occur at all). For example:

[yɔ] 'to get lost'	[wɔ] 'hunger'
[kaya] 'roan antelope'	[zawa] 'peanut'
[kóy] 'squirrel'	[toy] 'burden'

Certain linguistic canons require the interpretation of these distributional features that unite [u] and [w] because they are in complementary distribution and separate [i] and [y] phonemically because they contrast in at least one position. For the latter, a minimal pair can be cited: [nɛ́m ba koy] 'I'm going to get a ([koy]) handle' [nɛ́m ba koi] 'I'm going to get ([ko] + [i]) the palm-nut.'

As a criticism of this analysis it can be said that it concerns itself with the distribution of only some of the phonetic segments of the language; and, in addition, only certain points of distribution are made operational. In the first place, tone is ignored: The concern is with linear segments, but it is doubtful that the distribution of tone can be adequately described without a clear distinction between vowels and consonants. The contrast between /i/ and /y/ on the basis of distributional criteria is reinforced by phonetic features where tone is concerned: /i/ can occur with the tonemes but /y/ never can. The same can be said of [u] and [w], which I analyze as /u/ and /w/. One has only bypassed the problem by writing [zàwà] and [wùù] as */zàuà/ and */uùù/, for if */u/ is a vowel, it must occur with tone, and not writing a tone on it is simply another way of indicating its non-syllabicity.

In the second place, it should be observed that a concern with canonical forms in a language is a concern with certain distributional features in the language. Whereas /CVV/ would be typical of the language, */VVV/ would be aberrant in initial position.

In this grammar I shall write /u/ and /w/ as well as /i/ and /y/. Sufficient data have been presented so that alternate phonemicizations can be worked out.[13]

The phoneme /r/ has been called a flap continuant to distinguish it from the other continuants, but in fact it has allophones [l̆ l̥̆ r̆ r̃]. The apico-alveolar flap and trill ([r̆] and [r̃]) occur only before juncture or pause and although usually voiced do sometimes occur voiceless. The variation between these allophones is free although there is some evidence that [r̃] is used, sometimes quite prolonged, for certain stylistic reasons. There are not too many examples of these allophones because Gbɛya seems to be going through a stage where the sequence /V^{1}rV^1/ (where /r/ is [l̆]) is being reduced to /V^{1}V^1/. This is clearly seen in the following three dialect forms (in the first two of which 'r' represents [ř]): wárá (Gbanu), wár (Gbaya south of Bossentele), wáá (Gbɛya, under certain morphological conditions wár-) 'way.' For further discussion of this matter see 132.1 and 133.3. Only a few nouns, no verbs, and a handful of descriptive adverbs have final /r/, that is [ř]. For example: ą́ įŋɔ́ bɔr 'he knows a little bit'; ą́ aá te$_1$ nu$_2$ gbɔr gére 'he placed the wood$_1$ on the ground$_2$ untied'; ám mbirɔ̀$_1$ kɔ̨́ tuwa$_2$, go ɔ́ háar 'I swept$_1$ the inside of the house$_2$, so it's clean'; zɔra yú hɔr 'the mouse runs fast'; zór ~ zóó 'chisel.'

The allophones [l̆] and [l̨̆] are voiced lateral flaps, oral and nasalized respectively, the second of which occurs contiguous with nasalized vowels and the first of which occurs contiguous with oral vowels.[14] Because of phonetic similarity, the nasalized allophone is included as an allophone of /r/, all of whose allophones have in common the feature of flapping. However, since the lateral continuant [l] occurs only contiguous with oral vowels and the flap [l̨̆] only with nasalized vowels, it would be possible on distributional grounds to consider them allophones of a single phoneme. My analysis results in four allophones with a common phonetic feature and leaves /l/ with a distribution limited with respect to nasalized vowels. The phonemic status of /r/ has already been demonstrated; it remains here to cite examples in which the allophones [l̆] and [l̨̆] occur. They are quite common:

ri 'to eat something liquid'	rį 'to be dark'
rɔk 'to be smooth'	rɔ̨k 'to be good'
ráká 'rasp'	rįk 'to hit'
ré 'village'	zįr- 'to descend'
rɛm 'be able'	yɛ̨r- 'to be long'
ri 'water'	rąti 'to plug up (holes)'
ríp 'eye, face'	rɛ̨k 'to be narrow'
rɔfɛ 'trash, flotsam'	rɔ̨fi 'to gain in weight'

The voiced labiodental flap /v̌/ is produced by drawing the lower lip behind the upper teeth and then rapidly flapping it outward.[15] In my data it occurred only in the following words: guv̌úuŋ 'a very deep place in a river,' hɔv̌ɔk 'descriptive of passing on or falling out of sight,' hɔv̌ɔv̌ɔ 'exclamation of victory (at winning at a throw of dice),' v̌oŋ 'descriptive of hitting something' as in ám roá$_1$ te nɔ́ɔi$_2$ v̌oŋ 'I hit$_1$ this tree$_2$ so it rang.' In addition, the word gáv̌a is used at Bowe for the more common Gbɛya word rɛfa 'fish-trapping ramp.'

111.2. Distribution of consonants.

All consonants occur initially,[16] for example: ba 'to grab,' dik 'to thunder,' gan 'to surpass,' gba 'to break,' pį 'to throw (single object),' tɛ 'to come,' kin 'to roll,' kpa 'to find,' ʔba 'to disavow,' ʔdik 'to sift,' ʔmar- 'to wring out,' ʔnaŋ 'to ruin,' ma 'to plant (shoots),' naŋ 'to be inadequate,' ŋma 'to press down on,' mba 'to greet,' ndak 'to chase,' ŋgay 'to be strong,' ŋmgban 'to uproot,' lar- 'to lick,' ra 'to congeal,' v̌oŋ 'of hitting something,' fan 'to weave,' sa 'to call,' ha 'to give,' vuy 'to stir,' zam 'to rescue,' ya 'to sit (of plural subject),' wa 'to hoe.' The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs initially in only three words, all descriptive adverbs: ŋɛnɛ ŋɛnɛ 'descriptive of the motion of peddling a bicycle,' ŋį̵rɔŋ 'covered (with water),' ŋuyuŋ 'descriptive of certain linear design.'

All consonants except /h/ occur medially, for example: huubá 'a certain caterpillar,' gida 'enemy,' gaga 'a certain small fish,' kógba 'crow,' bipi 'wasp,' rĩ́to 'two,' ndɔkɛ 'wager,' sukpa 'manioc leaves,' saʔba 'blacksmith's tongs,' saʔde 'animal,' naʔa 'mother,' zɔʔmi 'to nibble,' dɔʔniŋ 'cool,' gima 'song,' saná 'sifter,' daŋí 'eleventh lunar month,' kɛrɛŋmɛŋ 'halfheartedly,' saambɛrɛ 'certain chicken-hawk,' ŋgĩ́ndó 'stump,' báŋgá 'rubber,' ʔdáŋmgbá 'testicle,' ala 'grief,' sɛ̃́rɛ 'spear,' hɔv̌ɔk 'passing out of sight,' ndɔfá 'certain small wild duck,' bisa 'adolescent boy,' kavata kavata '(walking) back and forth,' gaza 'circumcision,' kaya 'roan antelope,' zawa 'peanut.'

Only the following consonants occur finally: /p t k m n ŋ l r y/ and /g/ only under certain sandhi conditions. For example: ą́p 'saliva,' lát 'completely,' dak 'gourd for drinking,' dam 'granary,' wan 'owner,' gɔ́ŋ 'ladle,' dal 'certain upright drum,' zór 'chisel,' toy 'baggage, burden.' The voiced stop /g/ occasionally replaces /k/ before voiced nonnasal consonants in rapid speech where two adjacent words are closely linked in the same syntactic construction. For further discussion see 131.1. Since the most frequent examples of this assimilation are of verbs followed by nouns, and since verbs do not have final /p/ and /t/, examples of final /b/ and /d/ do not occur. Thus: [dág wa] dák wa 'chase them away.'

112. Vowel phonemes.

112.1. Description of vowels. The vowels of Gbɛya are seven in number. The front unrounded vowels are higher high /i/, higher mid /e/, and lower mid /ɛ/.[17] The central vowel /a/ is lower low. The back rounded vowels /u o ɔ/ are articulated at the same heights as the front vowels. Only the phonemes /e/ and /o/ have allophones which need to be noted. Although the usual articulation is at higher mid, vocoids slightly higher, approaching lower high, seem to vary freely with the higher mid varieties. The phoneme /ɛ/, on the other hand, when nasalized, tends to approach higher low. The phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ seem to be more lax than their nearest equivalents in English or French.

Contrasts between oral vowels are shown in the following pairs of words:

giʔda 'husks'	geʔda 'manioc'
te 'tree'	tɛ 'body'
ze 'month'	zɛ 'night'
re 'to enter'	rɛ 'to poke'
o 'to break'	ɔ 'to be'
dok 'to rub'	dɔk 'to be big'
ʔbo 'to mould'	ʔbɔ 'to bud'
dų̵m 'to spear'	dɔm 'to blow (horn)'
du 'to make (fire with grass'	do 'to flower'
ru 'to stir'	ro 'to stone'
kpa 'to find'	kpo 'to tie on'

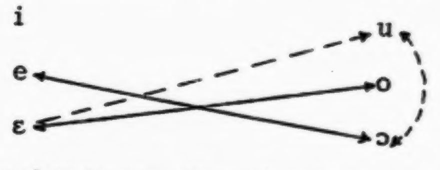
ŋmgba 'to interfere'	ŋmgbɔ 'to touch'
gbur- 'to drag'	gųr- 'to swallow'

Long vowels are equal in length to a cluster of two vowels and are phonemicized as such. No contrast exists between [V·] and [VV], either in their length or in the types of tones with which they occur. Thus, the tonal sequence low-high occurs in forms whose shape is CVCV, CV^1V^1, or CV^1V^2. For example, toró 'dog,' dɔ̨ɔ́ 'beer,' feá 'died.' And the form sii 'the returning' < si 'to return' + -i is as long as bii (~ bir-) 'to twist' or tįi (~ tįr-) 'tail.' The contrast between long and short vowels is attested by the following examples:[18]

bi 'to fight'	bii 'to twist'
gi 'to cook'	gii 'to follow'
ʔba 'to disavow'	ʔbaa 'to shed'
ʔbo 'to mould'	ʔboo 'to butcher'
do 'to flower'	doo 'to prevent'
dą 'to curse'	dąa 'to limp'
fų 'to explode'	fųu 'to sew'
gbę 'to be ripe'	gbęɛ 'to scrape'

112.2. Distribution of vowels. Two significant limitations characterize the distribution of vowels: the limitation on the kinds of vowels which occur within any minimal form and the limitation on the occurrence of oral and nasalized vowels within a certain defined stretch, for which see 121. This stretch is bounded by juncture and for the sake of convenience can be called a phonologic word.

The first limitation is best stated negatively: Any combination of vowels except those listed below can occur in a word. This then is a type of vowel harmony. The nonpermitted patterns can be stated as follows: No combination of mid vowels (front or back) nor combination of higher mid front with lower mid back or lower mid front with high mid back is permitted. The nonpermitted combinations of oral vowels are reviewed in the following chart. The arrows indicate both the combinations and the order of vowels. Broken lines indicate problems, which are discussed below.



The broken-lined arrow going in one direction between /ɛ/ and /u/ indicates that whereas the combination /u...ɛ/ occurs, /ɛ...u/ does not occur in the data. Likewise, since /i...ɛ/ and /ɛ...i/ occur, it is possible that /u...ɔ/ and /ɔ...u/ occur.

This chart does not mean to suggest that vowel combinations come in pairs, but that only certain vowels can occur in any given word. Thus: kóro 'rain,' bɛ́ra 'gourd,' fiyo 'fetish,' mbɔra 'law,' gɔ̨rɔ 'bee,' zįnɔ 'dig stick, reverse end of spear.'

This harmony obtains with the nasalized vowels as well, except that there are no nasalized front or back higher mid vowels, /e/ and /o/. Moveover, in the data no instances of /ɛ̨...ų/, /ɔ̨...ų/ or /ą...ų/ occur, but because of the symmetry which is often revealed in phonologic systems, I should expect to find these combinations. For example, I should expect to find /ą...ų/ because of the already existing /a...u/. Perhaps /ɛ̨...ų/ and /ɔ̨...ų/ are less likely because of the absence of /ɛ...u/ and /ɔ...u/.

113. Tonal phonemes. The tonal phonemes are two contrasting levels of pitch, one high (indicated by /´/ and the other low (indicated by the absence of any mark). Only the low tone has significant allophones. In addition to the level-low allophone there is a rapidly falling one that varies with it on the first vowel of an utterance following voiceless phones. This glide does not begin as high as a high tone, and it falls much more rapidly than the glide in a sequence of high-low. Since, however, its use seems to be accompanied by the meaning of emphasis, I suspect that it can occur in any minimal free form within an utterance. The contrast between low and high tones is attested by the following words:[19]

nú 'mouth'	nu 'ground, earth'
fúk 'meadow'	fuk 'flour'
máná 'bell'	mana 'certain fetish'
wár- 'way, path'	war- 'bean'
kóo 'woman'	koo 'grandfather'
kóy 'squirrel'	koy 'handle'
góro 'snail'	goro (zu-́goro 'knee')
gárá 'bundle'	gara 'yard, space in front of house'
zɛ́rɛ́ 'sickness'	zɛrɛ '(fall) in mourning'
kím 'oar'	kiím 'my mother' (Boguila)
gúrú 'in one place'	gurú 'certain large turtle'
bóró 'lower spine'	bóro 'hole in tree'
kútu 'hut'	boro 'iron'
kutú 'fog'	kútú 'certain tree'

120. The secondary phonemes of Gbɛya consist of nasalization (121), open juncture (122), pause (123), and terminal contours (124).

121. Nasalization. The phoneme of nasalization is considered a suprasegmental which occurs simultaneously with vowels. It is represented thus: /̨/. Two features characterize its distribution: (1) There is complete nasalization of vowels in any stretch of speech between junctures; oral and nasalized vowels never occur together in this environment. (2) Nasalized vowels follow any consonant but /ʔb ʔd v̌ l/ and the prenasalized stops, and they never precede these nor /h/ and the simple plosives /b d g gb/. The mutual exclusiveness of oral and nasalized vowels is attested by two pairs of words: [bąŋąl̆ą́] ~ [baŋgará] 'certain fish,' [dųl̆ą́] ~ [dulé] (the first variant of this second example being used at Boguila) 'tadpole.' It is also significant that whereas under certain circumstances final [m] is replaced by [mb] before a vowel, this never occurs when [m] is preceded by a nasalized vowel. (See 131.1.) The convention is adopted that only the first vowel in any word is marked for nasalization: [dɔ̨ɔ̨́] is written /dɔ̨ɔ́/ 'beer.'

An alternative analysis would set up two sets of vowel phonemes, one oral and one nasalized, and then describe the mutual exclusiveness of these two sets in terms of a kind of vowel harmony. Since these two analyses are mutually convertible without any difficulty whatsoever, no case is made for my own.

Oral and nasalized vowels contrast in the following words:

kɔ 'to apply, smear'	kɔ̨ 'to agree'
ir- 'to push'	į r- 'to roll up'
kpay 'to cross,' trans.	kpąy 'to be sour'
bɛrɛ 'dry season'	bɛ̨́rɛ 'certain ant'
biri 'baboon'	bįrí 'certain fruit'
fuli 'to whisper'	fųri 'to spit'
gbur- 'to drag'	gųr- 'to swallow'

122. Juncture is posited to account for the distribution of three different phonological phenomena: i.e., the allophones of /r/, vowel nasalization (see 121), and vowel harmony (see 112.2). The phonological word bounded by juncture, and represented by word division, is therefore the domain in which these distributions pertain. Juncture is marked not only where the distributional restrictions occur but where they can occur: between só and kɛ́ in the stretch so kɛ́ rɛ́ 'so we . . .' as well as between só and kó in só kó ró 'so we (explicit) . . .'

123. Pause /,/ is characterized by the following features:[20] (1) it is marked by a momentary break in the flow of speech; (2) it coincides with hesitation or interruption in the utterance (which are often accompanied by either the lengthening of the preceding vowel or consonant and a slight glottal constriction or both; (3) it coincides with the terminal contours (see section 124); and (4) it coincides with tone changes on final low tones (especially when these are immediately preceded by a high tone), the nature of which is that there is either a slight rising glide from this low tone or else that this low tone is replaced by a tone which is higher than low but not as high as high. The features characterizing all but (3), where morphemic contrasts are operative, are facultative: every occurrence of /, / is not necessarily accompanied by one of these features, but the minimal realization of /, / is a pause. The marking of pause is hence not consistent. Although it very often occurs following clauses with the auxiliaries, before verbal predicates after long subjectival constructions, preceding conjunctions, etc., I mark it only where it actually occurs and not where one might expect it to occur. The following paragraphs illustrate the occurrence of the features of /, /. The symbols enclosed in square brackets indicate the phonetic features: [,] simple pause, [:] length, ['] glottal catch, [↑] rising glide, and [ˇ] raised pitch.

123.1. Following hesitation:

ó nam$_1$ kó$_2$ ['], yám kó kóoi$_3$, bó$_4$ zee$_5$ gɔ̨́y 'the members of the family$_1$ of a (no, that is)$_2$ when$_4$ the father of the girl$_3$ hears$_5$ thus'

gan ą$_1$ ['] ɔ́$_2$ nɛ déʔdé$_3$ kóo$_4$ ná$_5$ 'she$_1$ is$_2$ not$_5$ a good$_3$ woman$_4$'

dų́ŋ wa [:], ɛɛ, gɔrɔŋ dų́ŋ záʔdí yui 'running they, er, Gɔrɔŋ was running' nzapà nɛá ['], rɛmà$_1$ ín rɛ́$_2$ 'God went, (no that is) is sufficient$_1$ for us$_2$'

123.2 At syntactic boundaries:

mɔː́mạri$_1$ kó wa$_2$ [↑] ɔá$_3$ nɛ [:] íyoː́te$_4$ 'their$_2$ clothing$_1$ was$_3$ tree-bark$_4$'
wa$_1$ ndɛ wa [,] ŋmgbán ŋmgbáni$_2$ [↑], a wa yɔ̧́ŋ kó wa mɔ$_3$ rɔy rɔy$_4$ 'they$_1$ who have stripped (their clothes off)$_2$ eat things$_3$ as they please$_4$'
bó yɔ̧ŋ saʔde$_1$ rɔy rɔy$_2$ [↑], nɛ ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́$_3$ nɛ́ dɛ$_4$ ạ$_5$ 'if (he) should eat meat$_1$ indiscriminately$_2$, leprosy$_3$ will afflict$_4$ him$_5$'
gạ ạ káy$_1$ dal$_2$ rííto$_3$ [ˇ], nạ ạ mɔ̧́y ó nam$_4$ kạ́ ạ$_5$ 'and he takes$_1$ two$_3$ dal drums$_2$, and he gathers the members$_4$ of his$_5$ family$_4$'

124. The terminal contours are those pitch features which occur with sentences and which are manifested by their effect on the tones of the sentence either in its entirety or—more commonly—at the end.[21] They serve to mark some attitude of the speaker to the sentence or to the situation. For lack of better names, they are designated by the punctuation marks, namely, period contour /./, question contour /?/, exclamation contour /!/ and double exclamation contour /!!/. They contrast in the following sentences:

ɛrɛ nɛ́. 'Let's go.' (= 'we go')
ɛrɛ nɛ́? 'Shall we go?'
ɛrɛ nɛ́! 'Let's go!'
ɛrɛ nɛ́!! 'I said, let's go!'

124.1. Period contour /./ indicates the absence of real emotional involvement. Its occurrence excludes the meanings characteristic of the other three kinds of contours. It is characterized by a drifting down of tones toward the end of the sentence so that a final low or high tone is lower than the low and high of the following sentence. The effects on high tones are especially noticeable, and the down drift may occur on even two or three high tones before the end, for example:

ạ bá$_1$ nạ ạ yɔ̧́ŋ$_2$. 'He takes$_1$ and eats (it)$_2$.'
gan$_6$ ạ$_1$ kpá$_2$ ri$_3$ mạ́$_4$ ạ́ nɔ́á$_5$ ná$_6$. 'He$_1$ doesn't$_6$ find$_2$ water$_3$ to$_4$ drink$_5$.'

124.2. Question contour /?/ indicates a question for confirmation or clarification. In a sentence having an interrogative particle ndé or wéndé, it indicates that the question is being repeated; otherwise, it marks a request for more information. It is characterized by a slightly rising glide on the final vowel, either from phonemic low or high, to a level slightly higher than is normal, which may be cut off by a light glottal constriction.

mɔ mí? 'Do you mean me?' (= 'thing I')
mɛ́ ye ge? 'What is that you're saying?'
mɛ́ nɛà wéndé? 'Did you go? I repeat.'

124.3. Exclamation contour /!/ indicates emphasis, emotional involvement, or a state of excitement. It is characterized either by the absence of the features of period contour or by an actual raising of the pitch level, especially of the highs, above the normal level.

ám$_1$ ndɔrà$_2$ kpém$_3$! 'I$_1$ killed$_2$ (just) one$_3$!'
dila$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ mą́$_3$ ą́ gbɛ rɛ́$_4$! 'The lion$_1$ was coming$_2$ to$_3$ kill us$_4$!'
ɛrɛ$_1$ kúú$_2$ zu-́ture$_3$ dį́yɛ nɔ́ɔ$_4$ ʔnɛ́ŋ$_5$! 'We$_1$ departed$_2$ from here$_4$ very early$_5$ in the morning$_3$!'
wa$_1$ dɛ́$_2$ mɔ$_3$ ząa$_4$! 'They$_1$ do$_2$ things$_3$ without profit$_4$!'

124.4. Double-exclamation contour /!!/ indicates insistence or impatience and most often occurs with directives. It is characterized by a final falling pitch, from high to low and from low to lower. (The texts, being anecdotal or narrative in nature, reveal only a few examples.)

ɛrɛ nɛ́!! 'Let's go!'
wa sí ʔdoŋ sɛ́!! '(He said), "go on back!"'
gɛ rɛ péé!! 'So we returned!'

130. Morphophonemics. In this section are discussed three types of alternations which distinguish the phonemic shapes of morphemes: automatic, morphological, and irregular. Certain of these, because they occur only facultatively in rapid speech or under certain very limited conditions, will be written morphophonemically; unless otherwise stated, the transcription is that of the morpheme in its free form.

131. Automatic alternations. The three kinds of primary phonemes involved are consonants, vowels, and tones.

131.1. Consonants.

(a) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme preceded by an oral vowel often becomes voiced before another voiced consonant except the nasals (and presumably the injectives). Most examples are of /k/ > /g/. There are no examples of /t/ > /d/, for example: zɔg rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́ (< zɔk rɔ̨́k) '(if they should) see very well,' tég záan (< ték záan) 'fall outside,' búg yú (< búk yú) 'wind blows,' dag za (< dak za) 'certain edible frog,' sog lolo (< sok lolo) '(sit) squatting,' ríb wa (< ríp wa) 'their face.'

(b) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme often becomes a nasal of the same point of articulation before another nasal.[22] Most examples are of /k/ > /ŋ/. There are none of /t/ > /n/, for example: bóm zɔŋ, nɛ mise dųŋ tɛ́ (< . . . zɔk, nɛ . . .) 'when I looked, Monsieur was coming,' ndaʔdaŋ ndaʔdak (< ndaʔdak ndaʔdak) 'sticky (as raw egg),' tóŋ núa (< tók núa) 'pierce the edge of it.' That this very common process does not always occur is attested by examples, such as: ʔbúk ndee 'shoulder a bow,' kóoi bó zɔk, ndɛ wa dɛá bisa 'if the girl should see that they got dressed up.'

(c) A word-final voiceless stop phoneme preceded by a nasalized vowel becomes a nasal of the same point of articulation before a voiced consonant. There are examples only of /p/ > /m/ since such sequences of phonemes are rare: zɔ̨p-ɛ̨́ [zɔ̨p ɛ̨́] 'his own nose,' zɔ̨m-́wa [zɔ̨ɔ̨́m wa] (< zɔ̨p) 'their noses,' zɔ̨m-rɛ́ [zɔ̨m rɛ́] 'our noses.' (The hyphen here represents the relational morpheme discussed in 212.2.)

(d) Plain nasal consonants of many words often alternate with prenasalized stops before close, and open, juncture under various circumstances. Some words have two freely alternating forms,[23] one with a plain nasal and one with a prenasalized stop. Other words occur with prenasalized stop only when they occur in certain morphological or syntactic environments; they are said to be "determined."

Free alternation occurs in the following words:

danáa ~ dandá 'sack'
ndɔnɔkɔ ~ ndɔndɔkɔ 'jigger'
máŋgo ~ mbáŋgo 'mango fruit'
wéné ~ wéndé 'or'
munzú ~ mbunzú 'White Person'

Determined alternation occurs either when words with final nasal (except /ŋm/, which never occurs in final position) occur with certain vowel suffixes (or in even more restricted circumstances when the following morpheme has initial vowel) or when certain short words with initial nasal (here always /n/) occur in certain syntactic positions.

Prenasalized stops can occur in verbs preceding the 3S pronominal suffix, before the perfective suffix, and before emphatic -i. For example:

tom 'to send'	tómbaa 'send him'
bom 'to be blind'	bombá 'became blind'
ŋmgbandà ŋmgbándi 'ripped it off'	

Prenasalized stops can occur in nouns preceding the determinant suffix:

kam 'food'	kambáa 'the food'
kpém 'one'	kpémbaa 'the first'
ʔdoŋ 'back'	ʔdoŋgáa 'the back'

A prenasalized stop almost always occurs in the words nɛ 'to go,' nɛ 'and,' nɛ preposition, and nú 'mouth' when they precede 1P and 3P pronouns. This is true of the verb nɛ both when it occurs as a simple predicate and when it occurs as an auxiliary. In one instance nɛ 'and' occurs with prenasalized stop even before 3P pronoun:

ndɛ́ rɛ́$_1$ sió$_2$ 'we're going$_1$ to return$_2$'
ndɛ́ wá$_1$ gbo$_2$ sɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'they're going$_1$ to arrive$_2$ today$_3$'
ndɛ$_1$ wa$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ go$_4$ ndɛ́$_5$ wa$_6$ ŋmgbɔ́$_7$ ŋgómbi 'and$_1$ they$_2$ went$_3$ and$_4$ they went$_5$ (and) they$_6$ pounded$_7$ the ŋgombi bark'
wí$_1$ nɔ́ɔ ndɛi ndɔà$_2$ kó kóm$_3$ 'you$_1$ who outraged$_2$ my wife$_3$'
gam guram$_1$ nɛà ndɛ́$_2$ wa$_3$ 'the whirlwind$_1$ took$_2$ them$_3$'
wí-ré$_1$ nɛ bó zee$_2$ oro-ndú-rɛ́$_3$ ná$_4$ 'anyone$_1$ who doesn't$_4$ obey$_2$ our commandments$_3$'

A prenasalized stop occasionally occurs as an alternant of a plain nasal before open juncture and followed by a vowel:

ín$_1$ (~ [índ]) ó wí-ré$_2$ 'with$_1$ people$_2$'
há$_1$ ŋmaa$_2$ hám$_3$ (~ [hamb]) oó$_4$ 'give$_1$ some$_2$ to me$_3$ please$_4$'

(e) A word-initial /w/ may be replaced by /b/ following /m/, such as:

am$_1$ tóm$_2$ ba$_3$ ~ am tóm wa 'I$_1$ send$_2$ them$_3$' (cf. am tómbaa 'I send him')
mɛ$_1$ ɔ̧́rɔ́m$_2$ béndé (~ wéndé) 'Are you$_1$ deceiving me$_2$?'
gba fiyo$_1$ sáá mɔ$_2$ kɔ́rɔ́m$_3$ ba (or wa) 'the Great Fetish$_1$ is calling$_2$ after me$_3$.'

131.2. Tones. Final high tone which is preceded by a low tone is often replaced by low tone when followed by an initial high tone of another word. It is significant that all instances recorded are restricted to substantives, verbs, and the preposition nɛ́. It should be noted that this alternation is completely independent of the phonemic changes involved with the occurrence of the relational morpheme (212.2.) which it does not affect in any way.

Examples of change:

guʔdò ɔ́m tɛ̨-ɛ̨̀$_1$ yóó$_2$ (< Guʔdó, < ɛ̨́) 'Guʔdó stopped$_1$ (and) stood$_2$'
wesè kɔ́ mɛrkrɛdíi (< wesé) 'Wednesday (= day of Wednesday)'
bó rɛ́ ro ŋmaà ín mise (< ŋmaá) 'when Monsieur and I departed'
kɔ̨rà$_1$ ríito$_2$ (< kɔ̨rą́) 'two$_2$ chickens$_1$'
ɛrɛ ɔ́ tɛ-rɛ̀ sɛ́ (< rɛ́) 'let's rest first'
wen-́pee$_1$ nɛ̀$_2$ hám$_3$ (< nɛ́) 'to return$_1$ with it$_2$ to me$_3$'
rɛ́m e rà ná (< rá) 'can't give it up'
ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán nzapà ná (< nzapá) 'nothing is too hard for God'
tɛ-rɛ̀ yų́m béndé (< ró) '(said that) we should be angry (= our bodies hurt)?'
ám$_1$ dakà tí$_2$ (< daká) 'I$_1$ led the way$_2$'
nɛm$_1$ yarà$_2$ tɛ́-kakaʔda mɛ$_3$ 'and I$_1$ was strolling$_2$ there$_3$ at Kakaʔda'
mɛ́$_1$ tɔ̨à$_2$ há raŋmgbà wéndé (< tɔ̨á, < raŋmgbá) 'did you$_1$ tell$_2$ Raŋmgbá?'
dųŋɔ̀ bá nɛ yɔ̨́ŋ (< dųŋɔ́) 'kept on taking and eating (= sat, takes and eats)'
nɛ$_1$ nɛà rɛ́$_2$ tɔ̨$_3$ wen (< nɛá) 'and$_1$ we would have$_2$ talked$_3$'

Examples without change:

héé kɔ̨wá$_1$ dɔ́ka$_2$ 'cry$_1$ a lot$_2$' compare gan tɛ́ wá hee kɔ̨wà ná wéndé 'or won't they cry?'
á mɛ́ yɔ̨ŋ ŋgɔyá ná 'don't eat forest-pig' compare á mɛ́ yɔ̨ŋ ŋguʔbù ná (< ŋguʔbú) 'don't eat hippopotamus'
toró kɔ̨́m 'my dog' compare torò kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ 'his own dog'
gó$_1$ hɔá$_2$ zu-́turee$_3$ 'and$_1$ came out$_2$ early this morning$_3$'
gbai$_1$ tɔ̨á$_2$ há ganá-zuí 'even if you should$_1$ tell$_2$ Ganá-zuí'
nɛ nzapá dɛá ín wa 'what God did for them'

132. Morphological alternations.

132.1. Consonant changes. Sets of free and bound noun and verb allomorphs are distinguished by two patterns of consonantal alternations: /r/ ~ zero, and /f/ ~ /p/.

(a) r-pattern. Many nouns and verbs have free allomorphs of the form CVV, and bound allomorphs of the form CVr- occurring with suffixes. (Such words are generally cited in their bound forms. In the dictionary, for example, waa 'bean' is found under war-.)

The bound noun allomorphs occur with the pronominal suffixes (where they indicate possession), with the determinant, and—in a few cases—with -i and -ɛ (see 213.2.). A few of these nouns are the following: gɛ́r- 'neck,' ér- 'hand,' war- 'bean,' wár- 'path,' kor- 'grandparent,' tįr- 'tail.' Note that the free form also occurs with the explicit pronouns. For example:

gɛ́rɛ́m 'my neck'
tįi-ɛ̨́ 'his tail'
bé-koróm 'my grandchild'
wárɛɛ 'this side'
éraa 'his hand'
wáraa 'the path'
wári 'that side'

The bound verb allomorphs occur with the perfective suffix, the pronominal suffixes, and with the emphatic -i. They are much more numerous than are the noun forms. A few are the following: lɛr- 'to handle carefully,' ndɔr- 'to shoot,' ɔ̨r- 'to deceive,' per- 'to return,' pɛr- 'to froth up,' sar- 'to go right through (and come out on other side),' ser- 'to simmer,' zer- 'to listen.' For example:

hɛ̨́ɛ́ hɛ̨ri 'tie it up'
ą́ hɛ̨rà ʔbéé 'he's tied it up already'
peri kóm ąi 'this is my returning'
ge a mɛ ɔ̨́rɔ́m wen-́ge ndé 'why do you deceive me?'
go yáram kíí saʔde 'so I was looking for animals (= and stroll I seek animal)'

(b) f-pattern. A few nouns and verbs have free allomorphs of the form CVp and bound allomorphs of the form CVf- whose distributions are the same as those described in (a) above. I do not know whether all nouns with final /p/ have bound allomorphs with /f/, so that in the lexicon I enter with /f/ only those of which I am certain. They are the following: léf- 'tongue,' dąf- 'pattern, design,' ríf- 'eye, face,' zɔ̨f- 'nose' and probably kíf- 'paddle.' Only one verb characterized by this pattern occurs in the data, viz. kifi 'to turn, paddle,' which alternates freely with kip in the imperfective, but occurs only as kif- with the other vowel suffixes. For example:

rífím 'my face'
zɔ̨fáa 'the nose'
ą́ kifó dila 'he turned into a lion'
lép-ɛ̨́ 'his tongue'
kífaa 'turn him over'

132.2. Vowel changes. The vowels of certain short words are customarily assimilated to the vowels of certain pronouns, and in one case to the plural adjective ó, which immediately follow these words. Junctural phenomena and assimilation of nasalization are discussed below. These words are the connectives mɔ́, go, só kó (but not its alternant free form sóó), tɛ, há, nɛ, and kó (in: wen kó); the prepositions ʔbó, há, and kó; and the auxiliaries tɛ, nɛ, and bo.[24] Except for the preposition kó, these are given in the form which occurs with 2S mɛ́ 'you'; before nouns this preposition is usually kó but before the pronouns, except 1P explicit pronoun ró, it is kɔ́. This regressive assimilation is complete before 3S ą, 1P rɛ́, sg. explicit ɛ̨́, and pl. explicit ró in their nonsubjectival (here cited) or subjectival forms. In addition, before 3P wa 'they,' the connective nɛ and the auxiliary nɛ can become nɔ, and the connective há and the preposition há can become hó. (The alternations involving the nasal consonants of these words have already been discussed in 131.1.)

The regressive assimilation of nasalization of the pronouns 3S ą and sg. explicit ɛ̨́ (which differs from the function of nasalization already described in 121) is to be described on the basis of fast informal speech. For example, in the speech of my informant (a tape-recorded text) *kó ɛ̨́ 'of himself' occurs as [kɛ̨́ʔɛ̨́], [kɛ̨́. ɛ̨́] (with two pulses but no glottal stop), and [kɛ̨́ɛ̨́] (as one long vowel of two-mora length):

go bɛ́ rɛ́$_1$ nɛ$_2$ go$_3$ bó rɛ́ gboá$_4$ 'and when we$_1$ went$_2$ and$_3$ arrived$_4$'
bą́ ą́ gɔn$_1$ wa$_2$ nɛ́ gaza 'after he circumcised$_1$ them$_2$'
gą ą sɔ́k 'and he matures'
só ką́ ą́ tɔ̨́ 'then he talks'
óró$_1$ koà$_2$ bém kó ró$_3$ mbó$_4$ ró yɔ̨ŋ mɔ́a '(they said) we$_1$ bore$_2$ our child$_3$ so as to$_4$ profit from it (= eat the thing)'
gá ye ge$_1$, mbá$_2$ ą$_3$ ʔbɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_4$ '(he) said,$_1$ "Greet$_2$ her$_3$ for me$_4$" (the speaker)'
há ó ŋgaragé 'to the ŋgaragé members,' hó ó koy-wí-ré 'to the remaining people'
to$_1$ ro$_2$ nɔ́$_3$ '(they said) "so$_1$ we$_2$ could drink$_3$"'

132.3. Tone and other changes. These are miscellaneous alternations affecting only a few words, not already discussed.

(a) The form wenáa (< wen 'word' plus determinant suffix) 'the word' occurs as wenáá before the interrogative pronoun ge, such as, wenáá ge ndé 'why? (= what is the affair?).' Although it seems semantically possible for other nouns to occur with the determinant in this environment, I do not know whether they would in fact occur. They simply do not occur in my data.

(b) The low tone of several nouns having a final sequence of high-low tones very often becomes high before another high tone when these nouns occur in a noun phrase. For example:

wééy ką́ ą (< wéey) 'her husband,' wééy tóko 'man's mat (for sleeping),' wééy nɔ́ɔ 'this man'
kóó nɔ́ɔ (< kóo) 'this woman'
sɔ́ɔ́ nɔ́ɔ (< sɔ́ɔ) 'today'
gáá nɔ́ɔ (< gáa) 'like this'
géré wí-ré (< gére) 'ordinary person, stranger'
ó sɔ́káí kɛ́ rɛ́ ~ ó sɔ́kái kɛ́ rɛ́ 'our elders'

(c) The nouns kóo 'woman' and béem 'child' have allomorphs kó, and bém or bé. In attribution with another noun or verb, in a noun phrase with the preposition kó 'of,' and with the determinant suffix, the allomorph kó occurs. The allomorph bé occurs in the same environments, except that bém occurs with the preposition kó. For example:

kó-toró 'female dog,' bé-toró 'pup'
kóa 'the woman, the female,' béa 'the child'
kó kɔ́m 'my wife,' bém kɔ́m 'my child'
kó-zee tɛ ná 'disobedient woman (= woman hear body not),' bé-zee tɛ 'obedient child'

(d) Low tones of final open syllables of nouns are replaced by high tones with the suffixation of the determinant {-a}. For example:

te 'tree' > téa 'the tree'
ŋgana 'animosity' > ŋganáa 'the animosity'

133. Irregular alternations. These alternations are not necessarily characteristic of the speech of my informant but are characteristic of the Gbɛya language in general, for they occurred in data gathered either from the speech of others who spoke a dialect identical with that of my informant or from other very closely related dialects. Whenever I could, I have listed the name of the village where a form was heard.

133.1. Consonant alternations:

/s/ ~ /t/: mbɔ́sɔ́rɔ́ ~ mbɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ 'young (referring to infant whose umbilical cord has not yet fallen off),' kpasa ~kpata 'real,' gbarasa ~ gbarata 'whip'
/r/ ~ /y/: rííto ~ yííto (Boay) 'two,' lɔ́rɛ́ɛ́ ~ lɔ́yɛ́ɛ́ 'short,' rɔfɛ ~ yɔsɛ 'rubbish'
/r/ ~ /t/: kúku tí ~ kų́ku rį́ (Boguila) 'first'
/r/ ~ /w/: kɛr kɛr ~ kɛwɔ kɛwɔ 'quickly'
/r/ ~ /s/: ŋgara ʔbara ~ ŋgasa ʔbara 'hard'
/r/ ~ /n/: ɛ́rɛ́ ~ ɛ́nɛ́ (Gbabana dialect) 'we,' rįfi ~ nįfi 'to make (cord by rubbing on thigh)'
/r/ ~ /l/: rííto ~ lííto (Concon /kɔ̨́kɔ/) 'two'
/l/ ~ /y/: lɔʔdi ~ yɔʔdi 'to swallow,' lara ~ yara 'sleep'
/l/ ~ /n/: bɔlɔ ~ bɔnɔ 'back'
/l/ ~ /w/: hɛlɔɔ ~ hɛwɔɔ 'descriptive of waving in breeze'
/w/ ~ /y/: hɔ̨́wɛ́ ~ hɔ̨́y 'in torrents,' vawuu ~ viyuu 'many'
/p/ ~ /f/: sɔ̨ pɛn ~ sɔ̨ fɛn 'earthworm'
/y/ ~ /n/: yɛ̨́rɛ́ ~ nɛ̨́rɛ́ (Boguila) 'conversation'
/s/ ~ /f/: rɔse ~ rɔfɛ 'rubbish'
/ʔm/ ~ /ʔb/: ʔmį́sísí ~ ʔbį́sísí '(entering) quietly'

133.2. Vowel alternations:

/i/ ~ /u/: gima ~ guma 'song,' bisa ~ busa 'adolescent boy,' biro ~ buro 'oribi (antelope)'
/i/ ~ /e/: kik siʔdi ~ kek seʔde 'strong (in health)'
/i/ ~ /ɛ/: bíʔdíʔdí ~ bɛ́ʔdɛ́ʔdɛ́ 'descriptive of cutting chicken's neck,' į́rírí ~ ɛ̨́rɛ́rɛ́ 'sweet'
/e/ ~ /o/: wesé ~ wosé 'sun,' wey ~ woy 'fire' (o-forms are from Boguila)
/e/ ~ /u/: huʔde huʔde ~ huʔdu huʔdu 'descriptive of skin drying and peeling off'
/ɛ/ ~ /ɔ/: fɛrɔ ~ fɔrɔ 'elephant'
/ɛ/ ~ /a/: fɛrɛ (Gbadee) ~ fara 'place'
/ɔ/ ~ /a/: wɔʔdi ~ waʔdi 'to push'
/ɔ/ ~ /u/: kɔn ~ kun (in a Gbɛya proverb) 'navel'

133.3. Many Gbɛya words have alternate forms that are distinguished by the occurrence or absence of the consonants /r/ and /y/. In this respect Gbɛya is typical of the Gbaya-Manza languages where this phenomenon is rather common. By describing it as it occurs in the language family as a whole, I can simplify its description in Gbɛya. If we take a bisyllabic form with intervocalic /r/ as basic, we find that several alternants are possible: The /r/ is either kept, lost, or replaced by /y/ or /w/; if /r/ is kept, then the vowels may be retained or the one preceding or following is lost, or the one preceding is lengthened. (Perhaps these vowel changes occur only if they are identical, for I do not recall any which were unlike.) Taking boro 'iron' as an example, we have the following theoretical possibilities: bro, bor, boor, boo, boyo, booy, and boy. Not all of these would occur in any one dialect, nor is any one dialect characterized by the use of only one of these possible forms. Rather, a dialect is characterized by the fact that certain percentages of the words occur in one form, and others in other forms. In one respect Gbɛya is a boo-dialect, because many nouns have an allomorph of this shape whereas other dialects do not. On the other hand, it never has the form bro whereas it is common at Boguila (such as, tró 'dog,' ndrá 'buffalo,' where /r/ stands for [ř].

This discussion is germane to the topic of free morpheme alternants because when we find two freely alternating forms, we do not always know if both of them are "typically" Gbɛya or if one of them has been introduced from another dialect in which it is more typical. With the following examples I illustrate several of the possible patterns, giving the name of the village where I believe a particular pattern is most typical. We continue to use boro as a formula:

boro ~ boo:
gbąra ~ gbąa 'bone'
kpįrí ~ kpįí 'axe' (The forms kpįí 'axe' and tɛ̨́ 'laziness' were obtained only in elicitation.)
mųru ~ mųu 'boneless meat, flesh'
suri ~ suu (both in the imperfective) 'to swell' (In the perfective, the allomorph sur- occurs.)

boro ~ boy:
ari (Bowe) ~ ay 'to fall (leaves)'
dari (Bowe) ~ day 'to raise (animals)'
dąri (Bowe) ~ dąy 'to have strong flavor'
dąri (Bowe) ~ dąy 'wound'
ʔdori (Bowe) ~ ʔdoy 'slave'
fųri ~ fųy (Boay) 'to spit'
gąri (Bozoum) ~ gąy 'to hang (something) up'
geri (Bowe) ~ gey 'clay'
kori (Bowe) ~ koy 'remainder'
mbɔri (Bowe) ~ mbɔy 'bride price'
ŋgari (Bowe) ~ ŋgay 'strength'
tɔ́rí ~ tɔ́lí (Bowe) ~ tɔ́y 'certain bird'
weri (Bowe) ~ wey 'lime'

boro ~ booy:
gbéri (Bowe) ~ gbéey 'blossom'
kéri (Bowe) ~ kéey 'fear'
kɛ̨́ri (Bowe) ~ kɛ̨́ɛy 'charcoal'
sɔ̨́ri (Bowe) ~ sɔ̨́ɔy 'glue'

wóri (Bowe) ~ wéey 'man'
bor ~ boo:
nɔr ~ nɔɔ 'certain tree'
zór ~ zóó 'chisel'
boy ~ boo:
ʔbay ~ ʔbaa 'only'
boro ~ boyo ~ boo (/r/ and /y/ occur in Gbɛya only in perfective verbs, with -á; but in imperfective verbs they appear with -i at Bowe, such as, beri. See 132.1.):
berá ~ bee 'to burn'
gberá ~ gbee 'to miss, to be absent'
herá ~ hee 'to cry'
perá ~ pee 'to return'
werá ~ wee 'to make a noise, to sound'
boro ~ boy ~ boo (where /y/ occurs in both perfective and imperfective):
gari ~ gaa (Bozoum) ~ gay 'to bail out (water)'
kpará ~ kpay ~ kpaa 'to cross (sticks)'
lará ~ lay ~ laa 'to lick'

140. Extra-phonemic characteristics of the language.

The most characteristic feature of the Gbɛya language is its nasality. If one can rely on one's impressions, I should say that it is more nasal than even some other Gbaya idioms that have nasalized vowel phonemes. This is perhaps due to the strong nasalization of the allophones [ỹ] and [Ĩ]. But it is certainly also due to the partial nasalization of vowels contiguous to the frequently occurring nasal consonants.

A second feature of the language is the occurrence of a kind of falsetto. It may be described as a tensing of articulation, accompanied by a certain huskiness or scratchiness of voice and rise in pitch, although more significant features than these may have escaped me. Another way of describing it is to compare it to the "change of voice" of an adolescent boy. That this is a learnable, nonphysically determined characteristic of the language is attested by the fact that the wife of one of my employees, a native speaker of Kạrɛ̣, not only learned Gbɛya well, but also learned to use the falsetto in a way which seemed to me altogether normal.

It is my impression that the speech of women is more characterized by this flasetto than is that of the men. Some women I knew seemed to speak in this manner always. Among the men, certainly, and perhaps among the women too, the falsetto was used when they were pleading for something or contradicting what another person had just said. Perhaps it indicates embarrassment. It should not, however, be equated with a somewhat similar whimper in English, where it is very artificial and distasteful. I was never able to notice any kind of reaction or response from others to this falsetto. I have described one incident of the use of falsetto in my notes: While having dinner with us one day, one of our guests, after having eaten part of his portion of cake, said—in falsetto—that he was going to keep the rest and eat it later on. After a short pause, he was asked a question on a totally different subject, which he answered, beginning in falsetto, and then continuing in normal voice.

150. Assimilation of loan-words. In a country where French is the standard language, the language of prestige, one would expect a certain amount of borrowing from French. Gbɛya gets French loan-words in two ways, directly from French and through Sango, the creolized lingua franca of the country.[25] The medium of direct transfer of French is through those speakers of Gbɛya who have somehow acquired a knowledge of French, albeit only a smattering, either in attending school or in working for a French-speaking European. This does not mean that they are necessarily bilingual. I am convinced that most of the words that settle down to the level of the monolinguals are introduced by young people "showing off" their French by introducing odd bits of French they have somehow acquired.

Sango becomes a medium of transfer when Gbɛya people work with others whose native language is different and with whom communication is in Sango. This language, because of its long use by French-speaking multilinguals, has already assimilated many French words. These then would be learned by a Sango-speaking Gbɛya.

It would now be very difficult indeed to show what words were directly or indirectly borrowed. Since all Sango phonemes but /nz/ can be equated with some of those in Gbɛya, we have no way of reconstructing a process of assimilation. The attempt is made all the more difficult by the fact that, because of repeated contact with the donor language, Sango tolerates words which are only partially remade phonologically.

Thus, from Sango and from French, Gbɛya acquires words that do not fit the phonological pattern natural to Gbɛya. For example, the Sango words makunzi '(village) chief,' nzapá 'God,' and ŋginza 'money' occur in those forms, or with /nd/ replacing /nz/.[26] French loans which occur in my texts are the following:

abɛ ~ abɛ̨ < eh bien, a connector
báak, báki < bac 'ferry'
bɔ̨́ < bon, interj.
dízɛ́ɛr < dix heures 'ten o'clock'
dįmísi < dimanche 'Sunday, week'
dɔktɛ́ɛr (dɔkɔtɛ́rɛ) < docteur 'doctor'
fatigé < fatigué 'to be tired'
fɛlɛ́ɛr < fleur 'flower'
fotóo < photo 'camera, picture'
kalimɛ́ɛ < reclamé 'find fault with, to denounce'
kamɛ́ɛm < quand même 'even if'
kanivóo < caniveau 'ditch by side of road'
kátrɛ́yɛ́ɛr < quatre heures 'four o'clock'
kɔ́ntúwí < continué 'to continue'
kúmásé ~ kúmázé < commencé 'to begin'
kuziniyée < cuisinier 'cook'
lɛ́ɛr < l'heure 'hour, time'
lɛkɔ́ɔl < l'école 'school'

lopitáal < l'hôpital 'hospital'
madáam < madame
madimazɛ́ɛl < mademoiselle 'unmarried (usually European) woman'
mandávɛrɛ < manoeuvre 'workman'
mɛ < mais 'but, and, etc.'
mɛ́ɛm < même 'in fact'
mɛrkrɛdíi < mercredi 'Wednesday'
mɛrsíi < merci 'thanks'
mɛsi < monsieur
midíi < midi 'noon'
pasitɛ́ɛr < pasteur 'pastor'
pɛ (in: pɛ nɛ yíí) < payé 'to pay'
sáki < sac 'thousand (francs)'
sasɛ́ɛr < chasseur 'hunter: someone who makes living from hunting animals and selling meat'
sɛ́ɛz < chaise 'chair'
tą́ti < tente 'tarpaulin'
tɔ́rsɛ < torche 'flashlight'
túu < tout 'all'
vądradíi < vendredi 'Friday'
velóo < vélo 'bicycle'
vitɛ́ɛs < vitesse 'rapidity'
wotóo < auto 'auto, truck'
zúska < jusqu'à 'for a long time'

Notes to Chapter One

[1] All diagraphs and /ŋmgb/ represent unit phonemes. Implosive stops and preglottalized nasals are both represented by the use of the glottal stop /ˀ/ because (1) the phonation of both is in some particulars similar and (2) their distributions are parallel. (These implosives would in the European literature probably be represented by hooked ɓ and ɗ. Had these symbols been available, I would have used them for the phones.) The linguistic methodological canons of some might require the segments here represented as /mb nd ŋg ŋmgb ˀb ˀd ˀm ˀn/ to be interpreted as clusters of consonants. Doing so would not otherwise change the present phonemic analysis of the language. I prefer to draw attention to the fact that apart from these segments there are no consonant clusters in the language. Accepting these as unit phonemes permits me to describe the sequential pattern of words by the formula $([C]V[V])^n(C)$, where every vowel occurs with a tone and may or may not occur with nasalization. In phonetic transcription nasalization is indicated either by a cedilla ([ą į]) or by a tilde ([w̃ ỹ]).

[2] Although the terms "egressive" and "ingressive" are properly used to designate types of productive mechanisms, they are here used to distinguish two types of stops. The ingressive stops are more commonly known as injective or implosive stops. The term "glottalized" is used primarily to group two sets of phonemes which pattern similarly.

[3] Spectrograms were made on a Kay Electric Company Type B Sonagram at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with the assistance of Mr. Simon-Pierre Nambozouina, a native speaker of Gbɛya, and Mr. Terry Langendoen. Words with contrasting /k g/, /t d/, and /s z/ were uttered directly into the microphone by the informant. Dr. Peter Ladefoged of the University of California (Los Angeles), who was kind enough to study the spectrograms for me, expresses the opinion that "there seems to be very little consistent difference between the items." He adds that if the apparently lowered pitch of the "voiced" ones is real, which a narrow band study would show up more clearly, this might be evidence for a decrease in air pressure. The contrast would therefore be, not between voiceless and voiced, but between fortis and lenis, with voicing an accompanying but not distinctive feature.

[4] All citations of isolated words are in their dictionary forms; the verbs always have low tone(s).

[5] A good description of the production of the injective stops can be found in D. Westermann and I. C. Ward (Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages. Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 92). For greater detail see Kenneth L. Pike, Phonetics: A Critical Analysis of Phonetic Theory and a Technic for the Practical Description of Sounds. University of Michigan Press, 1943.

[6] A fourth word is a borderline case. The name of the fish uˀúu seems to be derived from some interjection or onomatopoeic form. I see in it a form *uˀu plus stress for emphasis, which produces the sequence [úu].

[7] The freedom of this variation is of course relative. I do not in fact know whether for any particular word [s] or [š] is more frequent. An interesting comparison is American English, where the alveolar flap [ř] does not freely vary with [t] according to Zellig S. Harris (Methods in Structural Linguistics, University of Chicago Press, 1951, p. 39), but does occur in some forms more frequently than not.

[8] There is still another reason for considering the glottal series of nasals as unit phonemes. In the dialects of the Gbaya-Manza language family, words with injective stops are correlated with Gbɛya words with preglottalized nasals. Thus, Manza ˀdɔrɔ 'excrement' is cognate with Gbɛya ˀnɔɔ 'excrement.' The argument, and a weak one perhaps, is that a unit phoneme in one dialect is replaced by a unit phoneme in another. But even if this is not true synchronically, it would be practical to consider it so in comparing the dialects of a diasystem or in comparing dialects diachronically. (For diasystem, see G. R. Cochrane, "The Australian English Vowels as a Diasystem," Word 15. 69-88 (1959).) The fact that injective stops are somehow paired with preglottalized nasals within a single system is attested also by the situation in other languages. In English, I have observed that many speakers who occasionally use [ɓ] and [ɗ] for [b] and [d] at the onset of strongly stressed syllables also use [ˀm] for [m].

[9] The preponderance of verbs in these examples is not intentional; the preglottalized nasals occur most frequently in verbs and adverbs, rarely in substantives, and never in words of other classes.

[10] Some words with /r/ are written in Protestant literature with "l." The Gbɛya react to these as being 'childish.' On one occasion, however, I witnessed a lapse substitution of /l/ for /r/ in the word gbalé 'partridge' which was immediately corrected.

[11] Not affecting the phonemic analysis, but of some interest, is the fact that the sequence [yi] occurs only where [i] is the postclitic. See 220.

[12] It should be noted that /t w l/ as well as /r/ can be substituted morphophonemically within the language (a characteristic of some of the other Gbaya languages too), in which case the difference in form is sometimes correlated with meaning difference.

[13] For a different solution of a similar problem, see David L. Olmsted, "The Phonemes of Yoruba," Word 7:245-249 (1951).

[14] The articulation of the lateral flap is described and illustrated in a diagram in Westermann and Ward, op. cit., pp. 74-76. The symbol 'r' is chosen to represent this phoneme so as to avoid having to use a diacritic with 'l.' Besides, in other languages where the lateral flap occurs, the symbol 'r' has already been used.

[15] The occurrence of this sound in Kreish (Gbaya) and Shona has already been noted (Westermann and Ward, op. cit., pp. 76-77). Eugene Nida informed me, in conversation, of its occurrence in Ngbaka (the Congo) and I have heard it in some of the Banda dialects as well as in Kare (related to Mbum).

[16] The terms initial, medial, and final (and their corresponding adverbs) in this grammar are defined respectively as follows: preceded by pause or open juncture and preceding another segment, between segments, and following another segment but preceding pause or open juncture.

[17] The terminology is that of Charles F. Hockett, A Manual of Phonology, Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Mem. 11, 1955.

[18] These vowels are called "short" only because they are in contrast with those called "long." I depart here from the practice of giving examples in their dictionary forms in order to make the contrast between short and long vowels more graphic. The long-vowel verb forms here listed actually are allomorphs which are paired with allomorphs having /Vr/. See 132.1.

[19] Phonemic though they may be, tones contrast in only a relatively small number of minimal pairs. Fewer yet are the "morphologically" contrasted pairs. One example is the following: nɛá rɛ ɔ́ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̃́ 'we went and slept out (= went we sleep under bush),' nɛà rɛ́ ɔ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̃́ 'we would have slept out (= went we sleep under bush).' It is this latter kind of contrast which has been called "grammatical" or "syntactic" tone (Westermann and Ward, op. cit., p. 134).

[20] Apart from the obvious differences in pause lengths in the speech of different individuals, a difference characteristic of their styles, there are also in the connected discourse of any single speaker differences in pause-lengths which may be structured; some pauses seem to be longer than others. However, without the aid of mechanical devices, I was unable to measure these pauses with any precision.

[21] Silence on other vocal features does not imply their absence. Normal Gbɛya speech exhibits several features which, if not linguistically structured, are beyond the scope of this grammatical outline. Those which have been observed are the following: changes in tempo, volume, and pitch; modification of the articulation of the segmental phonemes (excessive rounding of the lips); lengthening of vowels or consonants; stress. These are described as stylistically utilized vocal modifiers.

[22] This process accounts for many variant forms in the Gbaya dialects. For example, Bozoum lak or laŋ, Gbɛya laŋgi 'to pass on.'

[23] They are "freely alternating" as far as I could tell, and as far as the language in general is concerned. It is very likely, if not certain, that some individuals would always use one form, and other individuals the other form. This may account for the two forms of the personal name ŋgana-sɛ́rɛ and ŋganda-sɛ́rɛ 'animosity because of the spear.' I doubt, however, that dialects can be distinguished on the basis of this one feature alone, even though Boguila uses ʔdoŋgáá whereas Gbɛya uses ʔdoŋ-wáá 'path, road,' which is undoubtedly the original form.

[24] One man, whom I knew, somehow acquired a few forms more characteristic of the Boguila dialect although he was born within a few miles of Bossangoa on the Bozoum road and lived near there all his life. When he used the 1P pronoun ɔ, he would have such forms as ndɔɔ (instead of ndɛ rɛ) 'and we,' tɔɔ (instead of tɛ rɛ) 'that we should,' and ndɔ́ɔ́ (instead of ndɛ́ rɛ́) 'we shall.'

[25] For Sango, see William J. Samarin, "Sango, an African Lingua Franca," Word 11:254-267 (1955); "The Phonology of Pidgin Sango," Word 14:62-70 (1958); "The Vocabulary of Sango," Word 17:16-22 (1961); A Grammar of Sango, Hartford Seminary Foundation (in pursuance to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), 1963, pp. xv, 311. For a detailed study of French words in Sango, see the M.A. thesis of Charles R. Taber at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1964.

[26] I recall having made a note of the name of a stream (which flows into the Ouahm near the ferry-crossing on the Bozoum-Bossangoa road) which had the sequence [nz]. If it was a Gbɛya word, the case is strange indeed. But, because a few Manza and Banda people lived in that area, it is possible that it was the name they gave to it. This is likely but somewhat difficult to explain, since the stream must have been there for a long time and these immigrants into Gbɛya territory are rather recent.

CHAPTER TWO

BOUND MORPHEMES

The bound morphemes are classified according to whether they occur in construction with only one other morpheme (210) or with a whole construction (220). The latter is represented only by the postclitic.

Summary Chart of Bound Morphemes

		Section
{-i_1}	Imperfective	211.1
{-á}	Perfective	211.2
-i_2	Emphatic	211.3
{-i_3}	Nominalizing	211.4
-V	"Demonstrative"	212.1
{-́}	Relational	212.2
{-a}	Determinant	213.1
-i_4	Locative	213.21
{-ɛ}	Demonstrative	213.22
-́V	Designative	213.3
{-i_5}	Postclitic	220

210. The affixes that occur in construction with only one other morpheme are classified according to whether they occur with verbs only (211), with nouns only (212), or with several different classes of morphemes (213).

211. The affixes that occur only with verbs are the imperfective suffix {-i_1}, which indicates any action that is not completed (211.1), the perfective suffix {-á}, which indicates any action that is completed (211.2), the emphatic suffix -i_2 (211.3), and the nominalizing suffix {-i_3} (211.4).[1]

211.1. Imperfective suffix {-i_1}.[2] It has allomorphs zero, -i, and -V, the tones of which are always those of the base (see 390). The allomorph zero occurs with some consonant-final and with all vowel-final bases, including those verb-base allomorphs that have /r/ in the perfective (for which see 391); the allomorph -i occurs with consonant-final bases; the allomorph -V (which is a vowel identical to the base vowels preceding it) occurs with only four consonant-final bases.[3]

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[1] For notes to Chapter Two, see p. 54.

Examples of -i. The following is only a sampling, for the list is extensive. In the vocabularies all such verbs are given in their low-tone imperfective form. Included in the following are the few verbs that take either -i or the zero allomorph:

ʔbati 'to deny'
kiʔdi 'to look for'
guri 'to smoke (meat)'
goʔdi 'to peek'
kifi ~ kip 'to turn
kɛʔni ~ keŋ (tɛ) 'to shun'[4]
yąkaʔni ~ yąŋi ~ yąŋ (tɛ)
'to strive'
kuki 'to rub on'
kąsi 'to seize'
rįŋi 'to roll (leaves)'
dali 'to reveal'

Examples of zero:

rįk 'to strike'
toy 'to carry (on head)'
rɛm 'to be able'
gan 'to surpass'
gbɛ 'to kill'
ko 'to give birth'
tek 'to fall'
fok 'to flow'
daŋ 'to climb'
per- 'to return'
ɔ 'to be'
ndɔr- 'to shoot'

Examples of -V:

sɛmbɛrɛ 'to pack to brim (by filling in corners)'
sɛŋgɛlɛ (wen) 'to disagree'
lɔkɔʔdɔ (tɛ) 'to obey'
ɔŋgɔlɔ 'to herd into a small group'

211.2. Perfective suffix {-á}. This has allomorphs -ó, -ú, -ɔ́, and -á:[5] -ɔ́ occurs when the base vowel is either /į/ or /ų/ (and is of course phonemically /ɔ̨/ according to the morphophonemic rule of 132.2); -ó occurs when the base vowel is either /i/ or /u/ (that is, when nasalization does not occur); when the base ends in an open syllable, the allomorph -ú may occur instead; -á occurs in all other environments. Examples of verbs that take these various allomorphs follow:

Verbs that take -ó:

dik 'to thunder'
ndin 'to chase away'
zik 'to encircle'
usi 'to show'
ŋguti 'to char (in cooking)'
zuʔdi 'to pluck out'
yur- 'to put in, poke'
ufi 'to blow with mouth'

Verbs that take -ó or -ú:

zu 'to steal'
bi 'to extinguish'
yu 'to flee'
gi 'to cook'

Verbs that take -ɔ́:

dįti 'to be heavy'
tųn 'to awaken'
fų 'to pop, explode'
gbįn 'to break'
įŋ 'to know'
gųr- 'to swallow'

Verbs that take -ɔ́ or -ú:

kų 'to cross (stream)'
zų 'to stand (something) upright'

Verbs that take -á:

ndak 'to chase'
ŋge?di 'to wait'
kɔ̣ 'to agree'
zam 'to save'
goy 'to like'
ŋgɛm 'to hold'
sạk 'to be clean'
kpe 'to shut'

211.3. The emphatic suffix {-i$_2$} is thus named to distinguish it from the other homophonous suffixes and because it occurs with a repeated verb identical with the predicate, the use of which indicates emphasis or intensity (for which see 414.32). It occurs with low tone following a verb base that always occurs with high tone. This means that it occurs with the bound allomorphs of the verbs, such as those ending with /r/. Some speakers use forms in which the tones are reversed: low tone on the verb and high on the suffix. There are some indications that the latter is especially characteristic of the Suma dialect. For example:

óró$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ yɔ̣́ŋ$_3$ wáráa$_4$ yɔ̣́ŋi gá$_1$ 'as if$_1$ we$_2$ ate$_3$ the fruit$_4$'
ó ŋmaa$_1$ a fɔ́ɔ́$_2$ gaza$_3$-́bɔ kó ró$_4$ fɔ́ri 'as for some$_1$, (they) purify themselves (= wash$_2$ their$_4$ circumcision$_3$ of the circumcision rite)'

211.4. Nominalizing suffix {-i$_3$}. It occurs with low-tone verb bases to form nouns. In addition to the allomorph -i, there is the allomorph zero which occurs following the phoneme /y/[6] and the allomorph -í which occurs only in the word yarí 'walking around, trip, hike' < yar- 'to walk around.' Nouns thus formed can in some cases function as the heads of constructions (last four examples), but the most common function (first eight examples) is that of an attribute to a preceding noun in a construction usually having the meaning '. . . for the purpose of . . .' or '. . . resulting in . . .' Although it is a very productive morpheme, there appears to be some limitation, probably semantic, on its use. Thus, while there are mɔ-́dụŋi 'chair, stool (= thing to sit on)' and mɔ-́ɔi 'mat, bed (= thing to sleep on),'[7] *mɔ-́yeŋgi and *wí-hɛi do not occur, but the following, where the verbs have objects, do occur: mɔ-́yeŋgi mɔ 'sifter (= thing sift thing),' wí-hɛ mɔ 'buyer (= person buy thing).' For example:

mɔ-́ɔi 'thing to sleep on'
mɔ-́mbɛri 'thing to beat on, drum'
mɔ-́day 'thing to raise, pet, domestic animal'
fara-́ɔi 'place to sleep'
mɔ-́fei 'thing which results in death, anything lethal'
mɔ-́gbɛi 'thing for killing, weapon' (as in proverb: gị́rɔ-́te há béem háí kó, nɛ gị́rɔ-́te há mɔ-́gbɛi háí gbɛ́ ná 'the shade of a tree gives you children to bear and it does not give you weapons with which to kill')
zɛ́ɛ$_1$ wesé$_2$ dɔám$_3$ fara$_4$-́nɛi$_5$ nɛ$_6$ fara-pérá$_7$ wesé dɔ́m ná 'yesterday$_1$ (the) sun$_2$ beat down on me$_3$ as I went (= place$_4$ of going$_5$), but$_6$ as I returned$_7$, the sun did not beat down on me'
mɔ-́dɛi kó fiyo 'thing to do for a fetish'
mam mami 'to smile'
yu yui 'to run'

nɛ́ mɛ́ kpa rị̀ki 'you're going to receive a whipping'
nɛi kó mɛ́ ại wéndé 'is this your departure?' (= 'going of you stative plus postclitic question-marker')

212. The affixes which occur with nouns are -V and {-́}.

212.1. The suffix -V consists of the lengthening of the final vowel of a noun. Since all available examples are of words with low tone, nothing can be said of the tone of this morpheme. Its meaning is very much like that of {-ɛ} 'this' (for which see 213.22), but since some words with this latter suffix can also occur with -V, it must be distinguished from it. Excluded here are also zɛ́ɛ 'yesterday' < (?) zɛ 'night,' and pɛ́ɛ 'this year' < pɛ 'year' (see 213.3). Most of the words with which it occurs have to do with either time or place. The following is a complete list of words with which -V occurs: bɛrɛ 'dry season,' mbóro 'evening,' ture 'morning,' zɛ 'night,' nu 'ground,' kíne 'now,' wárɛ 'this side.'[8] For example:

gó$_1$ hɔá$_2$ zu-́turee$_3$ nɔ́ɔ$_4$ ʔnɛ́ŋ$_5$ 'and$_1$ came out$_2$ very early$_5$ this$_4$ morning$_3$'
ám$_1$ hufó$_2$ zɛɛ$_3$, fara ʔbáá 'I$_1$ had diarrhea$_2$ during the night$_3$ until morning (= place shed)'
mɛ tɛ́$_1$ mbóroo$_2$ sɛ́ 'come$_1$ this evening$_2$'
kínɛɛ$_1$ wi zɔ́k$_2$ 'now$_1$ look$_2$'
ze$_1$ nɛ nɛ́$_2$ hɔ$_3$ zɛɛ$_4$ '(the) moon$_1$ which will$_2$ appear$_3$ tonight$_4$'

212.2. The affix {-́} occurs with nouns (and rarely with descriptive adverbs) when they are followed by other nouns, verbs, the personal pronouns, and the interrogative pronoun ge 'what?' Its function might be said to mark a genitive relationship, for almost all constructions can be translated literally, but pedantically, with the use of the preposition 'of.' More specifically, it indicates possession, characteristic, and purpose. With intimate nouns (381.11 and 344), it is the principal means of indicating possession. In general terms it may be described as a sandhi phenomenon consisting of the raising of a final low tone to high when followed by a word with initial low tone. There are, however, the following allomorphs: /´/ (high tone) which occurs when a syllable is (1) either unchecked, or checked only by one of the stops (/p t k/) and (2) is basically low in tone;[9] /V́/ (high tone and vowel identical with the preceding one) which occurs when a syllable is checked by one of the other consonants (the sonorants); and zero (no change), which occurs when the tone of the basic form is already high, or when a low tone is followed by a high tone. For the sake of convenience, the convention is adopted that the occurrence of the morpheme is marked by a hyphen /-/ and an acute accent written over it, thus /-́/, only when there is a tonemic change in the construction. The purpose of this convention is to permit easy identification of the word in the construction. For example, as a result of the occurrence of this morpheme, the word 'flour' becomes homophonous with the word 'meadow,' [fúk] (see second set of examples below). Another purpose of the convention is to make the occurrence of the morpheme explicit in the Gbɛya transcription. Otherwise, its presence could only be guessed at by the translation. But this advantage is somewhat offset by the necessity of having to consistently mark the relationship that any two juxtaposed nouns may have to each other. Since the absence of a tone change is correlated with the phonemic shape of the noun, one can not always be sure that the morpheme does in fact occur. Thus, error may be introduced into the transcription, either by omitting the sign or by introducing it where the language does not have it. In all cases, the affix occurs on the head noun or descriptive adverb which precedes the attribute, such as,

te-fɔ̧́tɔ́ [te fɔ̧́tɔ̧́] 'mint bush (= tree sweatfly),' te-́geʔda [té geʔda] 'manioc stem'
fuk-fón [fuk fón] 'sorghum flour (= flour sorghum),' fuk-́geʔda [fúk geʔda] 'manioc flour'
wen-sɛ́rɛ [wen sɛ́rɛ] 'affair of the spear,' wen-́kɔfɛ [weén kɔfɛ] 'affair of the in-laws'
ŋgana-sɛ́rɛ [ŋgana sɛ́rɛ] 'hostility because of prowess (= hostility spear),' ŋgana-́nam [ŋganá nam] 'hostility of the family'
dɔ̧́-fón [dɔ̧́ fón] 'sorghum beer (= beer sorghum),' dɔ̧́-kɔfɛ [dɔ̧́ kɔfɛ] 'beer for the in-laws'
saʔde-́ge 'what animal?'
kpána-́ru kamáa 'pot for mixing the food'
wen-́kii saʔde 'to look for animals (= affair look for animal)'
dawa-́nɛ ŋgɔ́n 'green monkey which climbs above (= green monkey climb above)'
goŋ goŋ-́tuwa 'square house'

213. The suffixes which occur with several different classes of morphemes are the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1), the locative and demonstrative suffixes $-i_4$ and {-ɛ} (213.2), and the suffix -́V (213.3).

213.1. The determinant suffix {-a} occurs with common nouns, numerals, adjectives, and high-tone perfective verbs when the latter function substantivally. In some respects it might be compared to a "definite article" like the English "the." Whereas the postclitic (for which see 220) is anaphoric in function, this suffix is basically deictic. They can and do occur concurrently.

The allomorphs of {-a} are the following: -aa, which occurs following a consonant and high tone; -áa, which occurs following a consonant and low tone, and -a (alternating with the following allomorphs in the described environments), which occurs following a vowel. The allomorphs -ra and -ára occur with nouns, adjectives, and verbs: -ra occurs following the sequence /aa/, and -ára following /a/, regardless of tone.[10] Moreover, a few examples of -V, which is a vowel identical with the preceding one, occur with verbs in the data. The following examples illustrate the allomorphs:

fúkaa	'the meadow'
fukáa	'the flour'
téa (< te)	'the tree'
waráa (< wara)	'the hoe'
bɛ́ráa (< bɛ́ra)	'the gourd'
zɔ́ŋáa (< zɔ́ŋá)	'the adolescent girl'
dɔ̧́a (< dɔ̧́)	'the beer'

tįráa (< tįr-) 'the tail'

gɛ́raa (< gɛ́r-) 'the neck'

ką́ára (< ką́) 'the side'

ą́ára (< ą́) 'the old one'

nɛ́m kpáára (< kpáá) 'I'll find (it)' (= 'go I the finding')

gan$_1$ wa$_2$ į́ŋ$_3$ mɔ$_4$ wen$_5$-gų́nɔ́ɔ$_6$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ do not$_1$ know$_3$ what$_4$ to$_5$ plant$_6$'

Further examples follow.

Adjective:

wen$_1$-́ba$_2$ mbéa$_3$ (< mbé) ʔbɔ$_4$ 'to$_1$ take$_2$ another one$_3$ also$_4$'

ó búa$_1$ (< bú) am$_2$ kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋáa$_3$ '(it's) the white ones$_1$ I$_2$ want$_3$'

Numeral:

bą́$_1$ ą́$_2$ si ʔdoŋ$_3$ ríítóa$_4$ (<rííto) 'when$_1$ he$_2$ went back$_3$ the second time$_4$' (= 'the two')

taráa$_1$ (< tar-) rįkɔ́$_2$ nu$_3$ 'the third one$_1$ hit$_2$ (the) ground$_3$'

Nouns:

téa$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ nɛ́ zɔɔ́rɔ, go$_3$ bó$_4$ wá$_5$ ʔba$_6$ íyóa$_7$ (< íyo) 'the tree$_1$ is$_2$ a zɔɔ́rɔ, and$_3$ when$_4$ they$_5$ have peeled off$_6$ the bark$_7$'

wa$_1$ ʔdáfí$_2$ ką́ára 'they$_1$ fix$_2$ the edges$_3$'

kpána$_1$-́ru$_2$ kamáa$_3$ (< kam) ɔ́$_4$ kpém$_5$ '(there) is$_4$ one$_5$ pot$_1$ for mixing$_2$ the food$_3$'

nɛ$_1$ ɛ́k$_2$ sɛn-tɛ-́ŋma bé$_3$-kųrí nɛ yóó$_4$ sɛn-́tɛ-ką́ai$_5$ 'and$_1$ (he) leaned$_2$ (it) against a young$_3$ kųrí (tree) and stood$_4$ beside it$_5$'

Verbs:

mbɔ́ráa$_1$ (< mbɔr-) gan$_2$ rɔ̨́ŋ$_3$ ná$_2$ 'the rotten$_1$ (meat) is$_3$ not$_2$ good$_3$'

ʔdoŋ-wáá$_1$ kó$_2$ kpą́yáa$_3$ (< kpąy) 'the manner$_1$ of$_2$ preparation$_3$'

há$_1$ zɛra$_2$-zéráa$_3$ (< zer-) hɛ́ rɛ́$_4$ 'give$_1$ us$_4$ ears$_2$ which hear$_3$'

nɛ$_1$ fara-péráa$_2$ (< per-), wesé$_3$ dɔ́m$_4$ (< dɔ́+m) ná$_5$ 'and$_1$ in returning$_2$, (the) sun$_3$ did not$_5$ burn me$_4$'

gan$_1$ wa$_2$ kpá$_3$ ŋma mbé wen wen-tɔ̨́áa$_4$ (< tɔ̨) kpém$_5$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ did not$_1$ find$_3$ one$_5$ thing to talk about$_4$'

213.2. Locative and demonstrative suffixes. These are -i$_4$ 'there' and {-ɛ}, which has allomorphs -ɛ and -yɛ, 'here.' They are relatively unproductive suffixes, occurring with only a few bound-form substantives and verbs. The latter occur with these suffixes only as high-tone imperfective predicates. Although they are possibly derived from the demonstrative substitutes (for which see 382.2), in meaning and function they are now slightly different: mɔ-́ȩɛ́ 'this thing,' mɔyɛ 'this what's-its-name.' The deictic reference of {-ɛ} seems to be somewhat vague, but both {-ɛ} and -i$_4$, when used locatively, are more explicit. Further data might very well lead to a more precise description of these suffixes.[11]

213.21. Locative suffix -i$_4$. It occurs with only two verbs (yor- 'to stand,' wer- 'to sound'), one noun (wár- 'way, direction'), and one bound pronoun (dį = 'place' [?]). Its meaning is always something like 'there.' For example:

ŋmaa a yóri 'there's one standing there (= some and is-standing-there)'

nɛm$_1$ ʔmɔná$_2$ gom yóri$_3$ 'and I$_1$ continued$_2$ to stand there$_3$'

a̧$_1$ dɔ́m$_2$ fɛ̧ra$_3$, go$_4$ wéri$_5$ 'he$_1$ blows$_2$ a whistle$_3$, and$_4$ there (it) goes$_5$'
wa$_1$ gbɛ́$_2$ saʔde$_3$ tɛ-wári$_4$ 'they$_1$ kill$_2$ animals$_3$ in that direction$_4$'
sóó$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ dį́i$_4$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ slept$_3$ there$_4$'

213.22. Demonstrative suffix {-ɛ}. Its allomorphs are -ɛ (sometimes -ɛɛ), which occurs following consonants, and -yɛ, which occurs following vowels. Its meaning is something like 'here' or 'this.' The words with which the allomorphs occur are the following: yor- 'to stand,' wár- 'way,' ʔdoŋ 'back,' kín 'now,' mɔ 'thing,' ʔmaa 'rainy season,' dį́- 'place.' Added to the list are aáyɛ 'this person unnamed,' íyɛ 'there, that place,' and tíyɛ 'day before yesterday,' which contain the phonemes /yɛ/ whose morphemic status is doubtful; /aá/ and /í/ never occur in free form, and tí occurs only with the meaning 'ahead, before.'[12] For example:

a̧ a yórɛ 'there he stands nearby (= he conn. stands)'
wan to bó$_1$ pɨ$_2$ mbéa$_3$ nu$_4$ ʔdoŋɛ$_5$ 'when$_1$ Wan-to threw$_2$ some more$_3$ (on the) ground$_4$ later$_5$'
só kó$_1$ wá$_2$ péé ʔdoŋ$_3$ nɛ wárɛ$_4$ 'and then$_1$ they$_2$ returned$_3$ by this way$_4$'
mɛ$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ kínɛ$_3$ sɛ́. 'You$_1$ come$_2$ right now$_3$!'
ɛrɛ$_1$ kúú$_2$ zu-́ture$_3$ dį́yɛ nɔ́ɔ$_4$ ʔnɛ́ŋ$_5$ 'we$_1$ left$_2$ here$_4$ very early$_5$ (in the) morning$_3$'
zɔ́ŋá$_1$ kó aáyɛ$_2$ nɔ́ɔ dɛ́ zɔ́ŋá$_3$ ʔdɛ́$_4$ 'what's-his-name's$_2$ adolescent daughter$_1$ is$_3$ really$_4$ dressed up$_3$'
wan to bá$_1$ mɔyɛ$_2$ kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́$_3$, bá bé-duk kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ 'Wan-to takes$_1$ his$_3$ what's-its name$_2$, takes his pestle'

213.3. The affix -́V consists of a sequence of high and low tones on identical vowels.[13] It will henceforth be called for the sake of convenience "the designative affix," for the common meaning of its several functions is the particularizing of the referent. It accomplishes this function by deriving nouns and by particularizing substantives and verbs. It is not a very productive suffix, and the examples given in this section are probably exhaustive for the data.

213.31. The affix -́V derives nouns from verbs, adjectives, and verb phrases.[14] For example:

du̧ŋ záan$_1$ mám$_2$ kų́um$_3$ ná$_4$ '(he who) lives a long time$_1$ does not$_4$ laugh$_2$ at the cripple$_3$' (proverb) (< ku̧m 'to cripple')
wí-bóom 'blind person' (< bom 'to blind')
tuwa-sɛ́ɛn 'house of hatred' (< sɛn 'to hate'), a personal name, compare tuwa-́ŋgana 'house of jealousy'
ŋgɔ́rá sɛ́ɛn 'certain fish' (so called because although it looks very much like the other ŋgɔ́rá fish, it differs from them slightly and is therefore said to dislike them; the syntactic form would be something like ŋgɔ́rá nɛ sɛ́n koy-ŋgɔ́rá 'the ŋgɔ́rá which hates the rest of the ŋgɔ́rá')
ɔ́ nɛ gbɛ̧́ɛ 'it's red' (< gbɛ̧ 'to be red); likewise for tu̧ 'to be black'
yɔ̧́ŋ gáan 'certain animal' (= 'eat in vain,' < gán 'in vain')
sɛ́n dée 'hate the good thing' (< dé 'good'), personal name

213.32. The affix ˊV particularizes substantives and verbs. The translations of the forms with this affix reveal only a slight degree of similarity. These are taken up in the following paragraphs.

213.321. With kinship terms it has a meaning of possession. It occurred only with yạ́ 'sibling,' yám 'father,' sɔ́rám 'paternal uncle,' and bé yám 'cousin.' Thus: ndɛ rɛ yá kp̣ˊtuwai ín yáam 'and Father and I were in the house' (= 'and we were in house with Father'). These nouns of course can be possessed in the more usual fashion: yạ́ kɔ́m 'my sibling,' yámám 'my father.'

213.322. With substantives of time it narrows the reference: pɛ́ɛ 'this year' (< pɛ 'year'), zɛ́ɛ 'last night' (< zɛ 'night'). Although similar to the morpheme -V (discussed above in 212.1), it is distinguished from it by the contrast between zɛ́ɛ 'last night' and zɛɛ 'this night.'

213.323. With the noun ré 'village,' it has a meaning similar to if not identical with the postclitic {-i$_5$} and in fact seems to vary with the form réi 'the village':

bóí$_1$ yaa$_2$ rée$_3$ 'if you$_1$ should run around$_2$ (in) the village$_3$'
mɔ́$_1$ dụŋui$_2$ yaa rée 'so$_1$ you can continue$_2$ to run around in the village'
ạ$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ rée$_3$ 'he$_1$ is$_2$ (in) the village$_3$'

213.324. With the pronoun ạ, it means 'here you are' or 'it is' (like the French '. . . voici'):

gende gá ye$_1$, wí$_2$ nɔ́ɔ nɛi ndɔà$_3$ kó$_4$ kóm$_5$ só kó$_6$ bém kóm$_7$ feá$_8$ ạ́a$_9$ wá '(he said)$_1$, "you$_2$ who outraged$_3$ my$_5$ wife$_4$ so that$_6$ my child$_7$ died$_8$, here you are$_9$!"'
mɛ́$_1$ nɛ mɛ bẹá$_2$ tom$_3$ zaŋ-ré mɛ$_4$ ʔdɛ́ɛ$_5$ ạ́a$_6$ 'here you are$_6$, you$_1$ who refused$_2$ work$_3$ in the village there$_4$ so frequently$_5$'

213.325. With the verb ɔ 'to be,' it has the meaning 'that's how it is':

dila$_1$ kayá$_2$ wa$_3$ wéndé$_4$ a$_5$ ɔ́ɔ 'perhaps$_4$ a lion$_1$ got$_2$ them$_3$ and$_5$ that's how it is'
wéey$_1$ bɔɔ kó mɛ́$_2$ ganá$_3$ zuúm$_4$ a$_5$ ɔ́ɔi 'your$_2$ manliness$_1$ surpassed$_3$ mine (= my head$_4$), and$_5$ that's it'
mbí$_1$ ye$_2$, tɛ́m kp̣$_3$ nɛ nạ́ ạ́$_4$ tɛ$_5$ á tɛ́ ạ bám$_6$ a ɔ́ɔ ná 'I$_1$ said$_2$, if I should yell back$_3$, won't he$_4$ (that is, the lion) come$_5$ (and) get me$_6$ like that?'
mɛ gbéé$_1$ wenˊrịŋ$_2$ mbɛ́tí$_3$ a ɔ́ɔ wéndé 'do you ever leave off$_1$ writing$_2$ letters$_3$?'

213.326. With a verb phrase other than those already mentioned, it seems to have the same meaning as the postclitic {-i$_5$}. There is only one example: mɛ́ nɛ mɛ bẹá tom zaŋ-ré mɛ ʔdɛ́ɛ ạ́a 'here you are, you who refused to work in the village' (= 'you and you refused work belly village there much').

220. The affix which occurs in construction with a whole construction is the postclitic {-i$_5$}. The following paragraphs describe its function (221), its allomorphs (222), and its distribution (223).

221. Function. The function of the postclitic is that of reference or anaphora. As such it might be translated as 'that to which reference has already been made or the existence (or nature, etc.) of which is implied by what has been said,' but its most convenient translation is a simple 'the.' It is, however, to be distinguished from the determinant which is also translated 'the' (for which see 213.2). The contrast may be stated as one between the singling out of an item from the real world (which is the function of the determinant) and the singling out of an item (or even concept) from the linguistic environment. The contrast is reinforced by differences in morphological environment (about which more is said below). Whereas the postclitic is very common in the texts, the determinant is less so. The following utterance might serve to illustrate the difference between these two morphemes:

> wa$_1$ yɔ́y$_2$ zaŋ-́duwai$_3$ ín$_4$ sɛráa$_5$ 'they$_1$ pull out$_2$ the intestines of the goat$_3$ (which has been mentioned) as well as$_4$ the liver$_5$.'

222. Allomorphs. The postclitic is phonologically bound to any morpheme which precedes it.[15] Its allomorphs are -í, which occurs following low tone, and -i, which occurs following high tone. (These environments are described for isolable words and are stated for pre-pausal position, that is, where tonal sandhi does not function, for which see immediately below.) Thus: mɛ́mi 'the dew,' fúki 'the plain,' sɔ́rái 'the star,' gɔlí 'the war-club,' fukí 'the flour,' sɛ́rɛí 'the spear,' borоí 'the iron.' Very often, however, -i instead of -í occurs when the word following it has initial high tone or when the word to which it is bound is immediately followed by /. /. In these environments, both the data and the assurances of the informant prove that the variation is "free," although it is certainly to be suspected that style is involved in many cases. Thus: sɔ́lí tei (~ teí) péé na 'push the board toward me' (= 'push stick return here'), tɛm yų́m tɛ-́wesé nɛ mɛ nɛà tɛ-́galá mɛi (or mɛí) 'I was sick on the day you went to the city there' (= 'body-my hurts on day and you went to market there').

223. Distribution. The occurrence of the postclitic is describable, not in terms of classes of morphemes, but of kinds of constructions, although in fact there is some correlation between the two, since the structure of the language imposes certain limitations on the distribution of morphemes (for example, a preposition is generally in construction with a substantival or verbal complement). It occurs with substantive and verb expressions.

223.1. Postclitic with substantive expressions. The postclitic occurs with substantive expressions in every normal construction. (This means that the postclitic does not generally occur in an isolated construction. Only one such construction occurs in the data: wen kó gbulɛɛí, which was the informant's response to a question and which in the context meant 'do you mean the word "gbulɛɛ" which was just used?') Therefore no good purpose is served by classifying these expressions here, for this is done in 411 and 412. Of some interest nonetheless is the fact that a few words which frequently occur in introductory constructions are followed by the postclitic:

mɔí 'that's the reason' (= 'the thing'), kɔ́raaí 'later' (< kɔ́r- 'back'), kuu oróaí 'later.' Thus: kóro tɛ́ dɔ́ka, gɔ́ mɔí a hái 'it's raining a lot, and that's why (the river) is high,' kɔ́raaí nɛ mɛ rɛ́m kpą̧y há wí-ré 'later you can prepare it for people .' In an expanded noun phrase, the postclitic can occur twice: once with the noun (or noun phrase) head, and then at the end of the verb expression. This latter is the most frequent use of the postclitic in verb expressions, and they are generally longer, that is, contain more words, than the verb expressions discussed below. Examples of the postclitic with various types of noun phrases follow:

kấy kamí 'take the food'
fɔrɔ$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ sɛn-tɛ$_3$-́ʔdambai 'elephants$_1$ are$_2$ at$_3$ the (village of) Damba'
wa$_1$ gbį́n$_2$ sɛn-́tɛ-ką́-tɛ-rɛ́i 'they$_1$ broke out$_2$ beside us'
wá kpaá$_1$ ŋma wí-ré$_2$ zaŋ-réi$_3$ rɔy$_4$ 'they found$_1$ someone$_2$ in the village$_3$ by chance$_4$'
wa kấy$_1$ ó mɔ$_2$ kó kɔ̨-́tuwai$_3$ sɔ́n$_4$ 'they take$_1$ all$_4$ the things$_2$ from inside the house$_3$'
ɔ́ éraai 'it's in his hand'
ndɛ́ rɛ́$_1$ kpa$_2$ náŋ-saʔde$_3$ dį́i nɔ́ɔi$_4$ ná$_5$ 'if we should$_1$ not$_5$ find$_2$ animal tracks$_3$ there$_4$'
nɛ wan$_1$ fiyoí$_2$ usɔ̀$_3$ hą́ ą$_4$ 'which the owner$_1$ of the fetish$_2$ showed$_3$ him$_4$'
bém$_1$ kó rói$_2$, bą́ ą́$_3$ bɛ̨́$_4$ ą$_5$ '(he said) "my$_2$ child$_1$, if she should$_3$ reject$_4$ him$_5$"'
ó toró$_1$ ką́ ą$_2$ nɛ yá$_3$ ką́-tɛ-́ąi$_4$ bá$_5$ firei$_6$ 'his$_2$ dogs$_1$ which were$_3$ beside him$_4$ grabbed$_5$ the paste$_6$'
zɔ́k fara-́mɔí nɛ tɛ́i ná '(he) didn't see the place from which it was falling' (= 'sees place of the thing and comes not')
kóoi$_1$ ną ą$_2$ kpaái$_3$ rɔ̨́k$_4$ ʔdɛ́ wéndé 'is the girl$_1$ whom he$_2$ found$_3$ good$_4$?'
wa kấy$_1$ ó béem$_2$ nɛ ʔmɔná$_3$ zaŋ-ré na$_4$ go yá$_5$ fį́í fį́í$_6$ gó nɛ gaza nái$_7$ 'they take$_1$ the children$_2$ who remained$_3$ here in the village$_4$ and who were$_5$ small$_6$ and who were not circumcised$_7$'
ɔ́$_1$ nɛ wí-ré nɔ́ɔ$_2$ nɛ gbɛà$_3$ ó wí-ré kó mɛ́$_4$ ʔbéé tí$_5$, gó gan gɔn kɔ́ʔdáa nái$_6$ '(it) is$_1$ someone$_2$ who killed$_3$ your folk$_4$ a long time ago$_5$ and hadn't paid the ransom$_6$'

223.2. Postclitic with verb expressions. The most easily[16] classified expressions are those that are connected to an introductory nominative expression (meaning subject, object, reason, time, etc.) by the connective á (331.1). Another, but much smaller, group is tentatively described as questions concerning the result of some action (the following examples are exhaustive). All others are described as residue. The examples follow the order of this presentation:

gó$_1$ mɔí$_2$ á saakara$_3$ ɔ́$_4$ saŋa$_5$-wáam wenáai$_2$ 'so$_1$ that's why$_2$ (there) are$_4$ islands$_3$ in the middle of$_5$ the Wáam (river)'
wesé$_1$-nɛ$_2$-kay$_3$ toyí$_4$ a ʔnáŋi$_5$ wéndé$_6$ 'did it$_6$ break$_5$ (on the) day$_1$ of going$_2$ to get$_3$ the baggage$_4$?'
ʔbay$_1$ wení$_2$ ai$_3$ tɔ̨́i$_4$ '(that's) just$_1$ what$_2$ you$_3$ say$_4$'
ʔbay wen$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$ á sɔnái$_3$ 'that's my$_2$ word$_1$ and it's done$_3$'

mí am tɛ́i 'here I come' (= 'me I come')

o$_1$ á pįɔ́$_2$ boro$_3$ só kó$_4$ ban gɔmái$_5$ o$_1$ ndé . 'Who$_1$ cast$_2$ (the) weapon$_3$ and$_4$ made the ban antelope jump out$_5$?' (proverb)

ge wen-́ge$_1$ ám$_2$ tɔ̨̀à$_3$ ínaa$_4$ sóó$_5$ kɔ̨-́sɛra-́ą yų́mi$_6$ ge ndé. 'What$_1$ did I$_2$ say$_3$ to him$_4$ that$_5$ he is angry$_6$?'

só kóí$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ gɔ̨́y$_3$ ʔbɔi$_4$ ndé 'so you$_1$ talk$_2$ again$_4$ like this$_3$?'

ą́$_1$ sió$_2$ gbó$_3$ ré$_4$ sóóm$_5$ tɛ́i$_6$ 'he$_1$ returned$_2$ (and) arrived$_3$ (at) home$_4$ then I$_5$ came$_6$'

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ zɔkɔ́m$_3$ nɛm tɛ́i$_4$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ saw me$_3$ coming$_4$' (= 'and I come')

ŋma$_1$ kóo$_2$ á yɔ̨ŋà$_3$ kó-ʔbiya-ę́$_4$ gbɛ́i$_5$ 'some$_1$ woman$_2$ ate$_3$ (by witchcraft) her friend$_4$ (and) killed$_5$ (her)'

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] The use of braces serves to represent those morphemes of which there are more than one allomorph. Once the morpheme is identified, braces are sometimes omitted. Each one of the five bound morphemes represented either by -i or {-i} is numbered to permit easy reference and to avoid confusion when two or more are discussed at once. Where there is no possibility of ambiguity, the subscript is omitted. See also 213.21 and 220.

[2] Cognate verbs in some other Gbaya dialects sometimes do not have -i. Thus: Gbanu raka, Bozoum lak or laŋ, Gbɛya laŋgi 'to go on.' On the pattern of these -i verbs at least one borrowing is remade. Thus, Sango káŋgà 'to shut' > Gbɛya kaŋgi.

[3] There are a number of -i verbs whose bases have as final consonants /s/, /r/, or /t/ and which otherwise closely resemble other verbs without these consonants. Between these pairs of verbs there is enough meaning difference that I suspect a morphemic status for these consonants. As a matter of fact, in the Gbaya idiom called Boli by some, "transitivity is associated with the suffixing of -si, -ri, -iri, or -iti to an intransitive verb" (Richardson, L.S.N.B.B., Vol. 2, p. 86). In the dialect of Carnot, moreover, -si (or perhaps simply -s) is associated with the meaning of causation. In Gbɛya, however, the lack of consistent contrast and uniformity does not justify a description of a set of derivational suffixes comparable to those in other dialects.

There are not more than 40 verbs with /s/. Those which show more or less semantic similarity with other verbs are the following:

hųsi 'to hide'	hųr 'to spread abroad, cover (as water covers rock)'
įsi 'to push in or down'	įr- 'to be caved in (as bottom of basket)'
kąsi 'to seize' (Bozoum kam)	kay (Bozoum kari) 'to take (several objects)'
	ka 'to win (at dice)'
kpasi 'to escape with one's life'	kpan 'to walk fast'
mbasi 'to choke up (as with tears)'	mbar- 'to fit tightly'
mbɔsi (Carnot mgbo) 'to gather (objects)'	mɔ̨y 'to gather (people),' but Bowe mbɔ
ŋmgbasi 'to stop (as rain)'	ŋmgban 'to rip off'
nɔ̨si 'submerge'	nɔm 'soak,' nɔ 'to drink'
ŋgasi 'to regain one's strength (as after illness)'	Carnot ŋgaysi 'endurcir'
	ŋgay (Bowe ŋgari) 'to be hard'
	ŋgá geʔda 'hard manioc (also of green or hard fruit)'

susi 'to be meaty, chunky'	Carnot sulsi 'augmenter' suri 'to swell up (as corpse)' sur- (Carnot sul) 'to be filled (after eating)'
tusi 'to stir up (fire that is dying out)'	Carnot tunsi 'to wake (someone)' tun 'to wake, awaken (but Carnot intransitive)'
wasi 'to bear (fruit)'	way 'to come up (as bamboo or banana shoots)'

The verbs with /r/ (and /l/ and /ʔd/ which happen to alternate with it on a dialectal level, compare saʔde and Carnot sari 'animal') do not exceed 20. Those that show similarity with other verbs are the following:

ndakaʔdi (tɛ) 'to follow after, imitate (?)'	ndak 'to chase after'
ʔnɛŋɛri 'to shed thorns (as kapok tree)'	ʔnɛŋ 'to trim'
sąmari 'to grab a handful'	sąm 'to break off (a piece of dough)'
sɛmbɛrɛ 'to pack to brim by tucking into corners'	sɛm 'to tuck (leaves under waist-string)'

Other verbs in this class are:

ʔbaŋgari 'to unravel (rope)'
ndikiri 'to honor'
dikili 'to tickle'
nųkuri 'to bear down on (a person in wrestling)'
sɛŋgɛlɛ (wen) 'to disagree'
kaŋgali 'to trip'
kandali 'to shrivel up'
yɔŋgari 'to become untied'
sįŋiri (nɛ́ ŋmaá) 'to ask (?)'
wukuri (wen) 'to speak falsely'

No verb with final /l/ is known to contrast with a verb without it. There are a few rare examples where verbs with /r/ show some similarity with verbs one of whose allomorphs has none. Thus, there are dur- 'to be long, tall' and duri 'to fly low and long.' But there appears to be no regular meaningful contrast between such pairs of words. My hypothesis is that the equivalent forms of two different dialects have been incorporated in this one dialect but with a difference in meaning.

Only a very few verbs with /t/ show any similarity with other verbs. It should be noted that in any case /t/ and /r/ and /l/ alternate on a dialectal level. Thus: kali but Bozoum kati (with /t/) 'to beckon (with one's hand).' Examples are:

kpɔ̨ti 'to skin oneself (in a fall)'	kpɔ̨y (Bozoum kpɔ̨ri) 'to take off (one's clothes)'
dįti 'to be heavy (but for certain objects which are not covered by dįr-)'	dįr- (Bowe dįri) 'to be heavy'
ŋgati 'to harden (as one's heart),' but in Carnot 'se lever après une maladie'	ŋgay 'to be hard'
suti 'to pull out (as from one's pocket),' but Carnot 'germer'	suri 'to swell up'

The French glosses are Hilberth's.

[4] Where Gbɛya words are contained within parentheses, here and in footnote 3, the English gloss is that of the whole phrase.

[5] The occurrence of /e/ in kóré wą̂ 'dried leaves' (where kóré is occasionally used instead of kórá < kor 'to dry up') is described as a lexical borrowing from another dialect, probably Bozoum.

[6] This suffix is therefore distinguished from the emphatic -i$_2$ which does follow /y/:

ɔ̨ dáy$_1$ bé-gɔ̨i$_2$ dáyi 'he's actually raising$_1$ the leopard cub$_2$'

Likewise, it is possible that the enclitic can follow this suffix although my data do not provide any examples.

[7] The resultant noun behaves morphophonemically like any other noun with the suffix {-a} (for which see 132.3d and 213.1): mɔ-́damía 'thing necessary to perform a task' < dam 'to be sufficient,' hųría 'fame, report' < hųr- 'to spread.' There are, however, insufficient data to demonstrate what happens with words of other phonemic shapes.

[8] Perhaps ŋma 'some, a certain' (the adjective) and ŋmaa 'some' (the substantive) might be included here. For example:

am$_1$ zɔ́ŋ$_2$ ŋma$_3$ saʔde$_4$ 'I$_1$ see$_2$ some$_3$ animals$_4$,' am zɔ́ŋ ŋmaa 'I see some.'

[9] By the basic form of the noun is meant that one that occurs independent of any morphological constructions.

[10] I introduce the allomorph -ára next to -ra with reluctance. The only reason for doing so is to account for apparently freely alternating but certainly noncontrastive forms such as kpááa and kpáára both of which consist of the base kpá 'find' + the perfective suffix -á + a morphemic segment. There were so few such cases in my corpus, however, that I may be have erred in making a distinction where there was none. The alternative to this analysis would be to complicate the allomorphy of nouns and adjectives further by having to set up pairs like ką́ : ką́á- 'side.' There is, nonetheless, a unique form dą́ára 'the stench.' The usual form is, of course, like táa (< ta) 'the rock.' Another possible analysis of this morpheme is to consider the allomorphs as -áa and -́a, the first of which occurs following consonant-final stems and the second of which occurs following vowel-final stems (suck as fúk and te), adding that whenever the high tone follows high tone it is assimilated.

[11] For another deictic suffix see 213.1.

[12] Excluded from the list is binɛ́ɛ 'tomorrow' (compare bin 'tomorrow') which is described as having a unique occurrence of the determinant suffix {-a}. This is, in fact, the form in the idiom of Bowe: that is, bináa. By complicating the description of the environments of {-ɛ}, -ɛ́ɛ could, however, have been included here.

[13] Only when pairs of words systematically differ in form and meaning can the presence of this affix be determined. This is to say that not all words with the sequence /V́V/ demonstrate the occurrence of this morpheme: thus, kóo 'woman,' záan 'outside.'

[14] The description becomes more complicated if the following two words are accepted as containing the affix; the authenticity of the second is doubtful: dɔ́ka 'much, many' (< dɔk 'to be much, many' probably by way of dɔ́ká as in nɛ dɔ́ká 'in a large quantity'), ŋɛnɛ ŋɛ́nɛ 'bicycle' (to be compared with ŋɛnɛ ŋɛnɛ 'descriptive of the way wheels go round and round').

[15] When the distribution of the enclitic was being tested in different phonological enviornments, there was some variation following /r/: in rapid speech, when the informant was not consciously working on the suffix, the allophone [l̆] occurred, which is to be expected. But in slower speech, and when he was deliberately adding the postclitic to various words, I seemed to detect some different phonological features: the phone could have been something like [l̆] or again like [ř] followed by some kind of juncture. If the lateral flap [l̆] did indeed occur, one would have to posit a phonemic juncture or else restate the distribution of the allophones. Since words with final /r/ are uncommon, it is to be suspected that an element of artificiality was introduced by the deliberate elicitation of forms. At this stage of analysis it is probably preferable to accept the phonological forms of rapid speech.

[16] Since the postclitic can occur twice in an expanded noun phrase, it is not surprising that it occurs with repeated predicates: wa yú wey na nɛ́i nɛ́i nɛ́i nɛ́i 'they run after the fire, they go go go go'; ʔmɔná gɛ rɛ yái yái yái 'we kept on sitting sitting sitting.'

It is noteworthy that either because of structural limitations or because of accidental omissions in the data, there are no instances of the postclitic with low tone imperfective verbs following the auxiliaries or with repeated verbs with the emphatic suffix (211.3).

CHAPTER THREE

DISTRIBUTION CLASSES

The free morphemes of Gbɛya are classified (a) according to their distribution within a sentence (a normal utterance preceded and followed by stop or pause) and (b) according to freedom of occurrence with respect to other free or bound morphemes.[1] The delimiting characteristics of each class are given as each is taken up. A member of any class is referred to by the class name. The distribution (or function) classes are presented in a quasi-hierarchical order, from morphemes whose position in a sentence is very restricted to those whose position is relatively free. They are the following: Interjections (310), Final particles (320), Connectives (330), Prepositions (340), Unique morphemes (350), Adjectives (360), Adverbs (370), Substantives (380), and Verbs (390).[2] The outline is, of course, arbitrary and is partly determined by the decimal system. For one thing, connectives and prepositions might be looked upon as belonging to a single class of linking particles. Also, the unique morphemes comprise a few anomalous morphemes which could be included in no other class.

310. Interjections. The interjections are characterized by the following facts: (1) They are short in form. (2) They consist of only certain kinds of phonemes (namely, vowels, nasal consonants, /h/ and /ʔ/,[3] tones, and nasalization) or nonphonemic segments (such as alveolar click). (3) Some have a considerable variation in phonemic form (resulting in the equivalent of free morpheme alternants). (4) The distribution of their phonemes is frequently not paralleled by that in the rest of the morphemes of the language. (5) Some have meanings which are difficult to state with precision except by describing the context in which they are used. The following are only a few of the many which occurred in the texts:

aaʔ	'plea for consideration:' aaʔ yą́$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$, ám$_3$ i̧ŋɔ̀$_4$ kínɛɛ nɔ́ɔ$_5$ 'Oh, my$_2$ brother$_1$, I$_3$ know$_4$ that now$_5$ . . .'
áá?	'protest for confirmation:' ááʔ ɛrɛ$_1$ dɛ́ saa$_2$ dɔ́ka$_3$ 'indeed, we$_1$ are very$_3$ happy$_2$'
ééʔ	'wonder:' ééʔ wééy$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ du̧ŋ dɛ́ ŋgay$_3$ 'My! this$_2$ man$_1$ is putting up quite a fuss$_3$'
ɛ́ɛʔ	'reproval:' ɛ́ɛʔ wen kó ge$_1$ á mɛ́$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ toró$_4$ kɔ́m$_5$ wen-́ge ndé$_1$ 'Hey! why$_1$ are you$_2$ killing$_3$ my$_5$ dog$_4$!'

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[1] For notes to Chapter Three, see p. 115.

ɛ̨hɛ́ʔ	'agreement (perhaps to what was already known):' ɛ̨hɛ́ʔ ɛrɛ$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ gɔ̨́y$_3$ ʔbɔ$_4$ 'yes, we$_1$ also$_4$ say$_2$ that$_3$'
hii	'general assent'
hį́ʔ	'wonder with approval:' hį́ʔ kpasa$_1$ mɔ́ wéey$_2$ ɛ̨i$_3$ 'Wow! this is$_3$ a real$_1$ he-man accomplishment$_2$'
hóʔ	'difficulty of achieving goal:' hóʔ wí-ré$_1$ aá$_2$ fɔ$_3$ sɔ́n$_1$ 'Hey! (but) everyone$_1$ has gone to$_2$ the gardens$_3$'
įʔí	'disagreement, no'
į́íʔ	'calling attention to something amazing:' į́íʔ mise$_1$ gbɛá$_2$ dila$_3$ 'Hey! Monsieur$_1$ has killed$_2$ a lion$_3$'
mḿ	'unenthusiastic approval:' mḿ raŋmgbá a tɛ́$_1$ ínaa$_2$ 'All right, Raŋmgbá goes$_1$ with him$_2$'
oo	'petition, despair, disappointment:' oo yáam 'Oh Father'
óʔ	'surprise, fear:' óʔ mɛ$_1$ zɔ́k$_2$ saʔde$_3$ 'Oh, you$_1$ see$_2$ (the) animal$_3$'
wóo	'response to call of one's name'

320. Final particles. Final particles are those words which occur before but never after pause, that is, they never occur in isolation but are constituents of principal or nonprincipal sentence types.

321. báa calls in question the execution of the preceding clause. The recorded examples are so few that more precision in defining its meaning is not now possible.

bą́$_1$ ą́$_2$ sa$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ ná, nɛ ndɛ́ rɛ́$_5$ nɛ$_6$ nɛ́ ŋgay-́tɛ-rɛ́ báa$_7$ 'If$_1$ he$_2$ didn't call$_3$ us$_4$ (to eat), would we$_5$ go$_6$ on our own volition$_7$?' (= 'we shall go with our strength')

322. ndé is not easily given a gloss which can cover all of its uses; perhaps it is some kind of exclamatory marker. Its two most common occurrences are (a) following interrogative substitutes and (b) following substantive expressions emphasized or used vocatively and quoted in narrations (and therefore deserving the term "narrated vocative"). The meaning of one occurrence of ndé, the last one under (a) below, does not, however, seem to fit this pattern.

(a) Following interrogative substitutes:

mɛ$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ ye ge ndé$_3$. 'What$_3$ are$_2$ you$_1$ saying$_2$?'
ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ zɔ́k$_3$, ge ndé$_4$, nɛ mise$_5$ dųŋ tɛ́$_6$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ look$_3$, what$_4$? Monsieur$_5$ was coming$_6$'
ʔmɔ́n$_1$, nɛ$_2$ ge ndé$_3$, ndɛ$_4$ wa$_5$ gbó$_6$ tɛ-́zaŋ-ré$_7$ 'just then$_1$, and$_2$ what$_3$? and$_4$ they$_5$ arrive$_6$ in the village$_7$'
mbí$_1$ ye$_2$, ge ndé$_3$ 'I$_1$ said$_2$, "What$_3$?"'
wen-́ge$_1$ a tɛ́$_2$ wa$_3$ gbɛ́$_4$ mbéa$_5$ ró$_6$ é$_7$ zúa$_8$ ʔbɔ gáá$_9$ ge ndé$_1$ '(they said), "Why$_1$ do they$_3$ come$_2$ (and) kill$_4$ another$_5$ one of us$_6$ (and) add$_7$ to the first$_8$ like this$_9$?"'
mɛ$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ íye ndé$_3$. 'Where$_3$ are$_2$ you$_1$ going$_2$?'
o$_1$ a nɛ́$_2$ dųŋ$_3$ ką́-fɔrɔ$_4$ o$_1$ ndé. 'Who$_1$ will$_2$ stay$_3$ by the elephant$_4$?'
só kóí$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ gɔ̨́y$_3$ ʔbɔi$_4$ ndé. 'So you$_1$ talk$_2$ again$_3$ like this$_4$?'

ó wara$_1$, ó kura$_2$, ó ge ndé 'hoes,$_1$ arrows$_2$, whatever other things' (= 'plural adjective what ndé')

(b) Following narrated vocatives:

mɛ́$_1$ ndé$_2$, nɛ mɛ zɔ́k$_3$ fara$_4$ 'hey$_2$ you$_1$, look at$_3$ (the) place$_4$'

yám$_1$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨$_2$ ndé nɛ ɛ̨$_3$ kpaà$_4$ kóo$_5$ sɔ́ɔ$_6$ '(says), "My$_2$ Father$_1$, I$_3$ found$_4$ a wife$_5$ today$_6$"'

foo$_1$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨$_2$ ná ndé, á baá zaŋ$_3$ '(he says), "My$_2$ mother-in-law$_1$, she has become pregnant$_3$"'

323. nde resembles ndé but is different enough that it must be separated from it. There are, however, not enough recorded examples to permit a precise definition.

mɛ́$_1$ zerá$_2$ nde. 'Did$_2$ you$_1$ understand$_2$?' (a question with an added meaning of compulsion, compare simple question mɛ́ zerá wéndé. 'Did you understand?')

mɛ zéé nde. 'Listen here!'

hii nde 'Yes indeed' (somehow contrastive with hii wa 'Yes indeed')

324. oó indicates politeness or petition (and contrasts with wa in the same utterances). It occurs most frequently in some utterance directed to another person (such as a directive, request, greeting, call, etc.). For example:

mɛ tɛ́ oó. 'Come!'

am mbá mɛ́ oó. 'I greet you.'

yám oó. 'Say, Father.'

bá ŋmaa ʔbɔ́m oó. 'Get some for me please.'

325. wa indicates repetition or impatience.[4] Like oó, it occurs in directives, greetings, and calls, such as:

mɛ tɛ́ wa. '(I said), come.'

am mbá mɛ́ wa. 'Hey, I greet you.'

yám wa. 'Hey, Father!'

yú tɛ-mɛ́ wa. 'Get out of here!'

326. wá indicates that the preceding stretch (usually preceded by the quotative particle, see 353) is a quotation or something which has already been discussed. In a long quotation it may occur once or several times before the conclusion. It is, however, optional at all times. For example:

ɛrɛ$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ ye ge . . . go$_3$ mɛ$_4$ péé$_5$ tɛ-tíi$_6$, nɛ$_7$ ndɛ́ rɛ́$_8$ pee$_9$ ʔdoŋí$_{10}$ wá 'we$_1$ said$_2$ . . . so$_3$ you$_4$ go$_5$ first$_6$ and$_7$ we'll$_8$ come$_9$ later$_{10}$'

gá ye ge$_1$, mise$_2$ á nɛá$_3$ ndɔ́ɔ́$_4$ ndarà$_5$ wá, ɛ$_6$ ndɔ́ɔ́$_7$ dila$_8$ wá '(he) said$_1$, "Monsieur$_2$ went$_3$ (and) shot$_4$ a buffalo$_5$, er$_6$, shot$_7$ a lion$_8$"'

kó-fey$_1$ ye$_2$, wen$_3$ ndɛ wa$_4$ tɔ̨á$_5$ gende gá ye$_6$, ndɛ́ wá$_7$ gbɛ$_8$ ró$_9$ wái 'Ko-fey$_1$ said$_2$, "The thing$_3$ you$_4$ said$_5$, saying that$_6$ you'd$_7$ kill$_8$ us$_9$"'

ŋma bém$_1$ ką́ ą$_2$ bó$_3$ gɔn gaza$_4$, ną ą$_5$ á$_6$ yín$_7$ há ą$_8$ ye ge ba nɛ́ wan$_9$ wái 'when$_3$ one of his$_2$ sons$_1$ is circumcised$_4$, he$_5$ gives$_6$ him$_8$ the name$_7$ Ba-nɛ́-wan$_9$'

bó$_1$ zɔk$_2$ gɔ̨́y, gende gá ye$_3$ déʔdé$_4$ zɔ́ŋá$_5$ kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ$_6$ wá 'when$_1$ (they) look$_2$, (they) say$_3$, "(Look at) what's-his-name's$_6$ pretty$_4$ daughter$_5$"'

327. wéey indicates emphasis or calls attention to oneself or to what has been said. It is almost certainly the same word as wéey 'man.' For example:

mí$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ na$_3$ go$_4$ mɛ tɛ́$_5$ wéey. 'Here$_3$ I$_1$ am$_2$, so$_4$ come$_5$ on!'
yám-wara wéey. 'Hey Yám-wara!'
yám-wara oó. yám-wara wéey. yám-wara wa. 'Say there, Yám-wara. Hey, Yám-wara! I said, Yám-wara!'

328. wéndé indicates a question either in direct or indirect discourse, and occurs only when no other interrogative word occurs in the sentence. It is therefore mutually exclusive with ndé. For example:

dilai$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ wa$_4$ bó ná$_2$ wéndé. 'Won't$_2$ the lion$_1$ kill$_3$ them$_4$?'
ge$_1$ a mɛ$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ kó mɛ́ wenáa. kéey dɛ́ mɛ́ wéndé. 'Why$_1$ are$_3$ you$_2$ going$_3$? Are you afraid?'
geʔdéa$_1$ a wa$_2$ ʔdṵ́$_3$ go$_4$ wa bá$_5$ hɛ̰́$_6$ ɛ̰́$_7$ wéndé '(he said), "Is it the dregs$_1$ that they$_2$ dish up$_3$ and$_4$ give$_5$ to$_6$ me$_7$?"'
gom$_1$ tɔ̰́ mbí ye$_2$, ʔmɔná goi dɛ́ lɛkɔ́ɔl wéndé 'and I$_1$ said$_2$, "perhaps you were still at school"'
gba$_1$ kóo$_2$ óró$_3$ ndɔà$_4$ wéndé '(they said), "Even if$_1$ we$_3$ had violated$_4$ a woman$_2$"'
gɔ̰́y wéndé 'like this?'

330. Connectives. Connectives are those words which normally occur following but not preceding pause, and which serve to join clauses or other constructions. There are three types of connectives: those which join only clauses (331), those which join clauses and other constructions (332), and those which join verb expressions or dependent clauses to verb phrases (333). See also footnote 16, 393.23(b), and 411.

Summary Chart of Connectives

The connectives followed by an asterisk can occur with the pronominal suffixes. The vowels of these words are also assimilated to the vowel of the following pronoun.

á	331.1	óró . . . gá	332.5
wen kó*	331.2	sɛ́ tɛ*	332.6
{a}	332.1	só kó*	332.7
{go}*	332.2	tɛ*	332.8
há*	332.3	{wéndé gan}	332.9
nɛ*	332.4	mɔ́*	333

331. Connectives which join only clauses are á (331.1) and wen kó (mɔ nɛ) (331.2).

331.1. á is a connective introducing commands. This connective joins an affirmative command to a preceding command. For example, in the first example below the command ŋgɛ́mbɛ́m 'wait for me' is joined to mɔ̰́y 'gather' by áí 'and you.' In negative commands, á precedes a pronominal subject or follows a nominal subject (where it is translated as a hortative) without a preceding clause. The absence of a preceding clause and the fact that either the connective nɛ or the connective go can precede á makes one doubt that this really is the same connective used in the affirmative commands or that it is indeed a connective at all. If it is not, it must be described as being the sole member of another form class, for its function is not paralleled by that of any other morpheme.[5]

(a) Affirmative commands:[6]

fara$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ ʔbará$_3$, nɛi mɔ̣́y$_4$ zɛ́p áí$_5$ ŋgɛ́mbɛ́m$_6$ há$_7$ nɛ́ɛm$_8$ kpáí$_9$ 'when$_2$ day$_1$ breaks$_3$, gather together$_4$ and$_5$ wait for me$_6$ that$_7$ I might go$_8$ (and) meet you$_9$'

á mɛ́ yɔ̣ŋ$_1$ mɔ tɛ-ríp$_2$-wí-rɛ́$_3$ ná, á$_4$ mɛ́ yɔ̣́ŋ$_5$ mɔ tɛ-́$_6$tuwa$_7$ 'don't eat$_1$ in front of$_2$ people$_3$, but$_4$ eat$_5$ in$_6$ (the) house$_7$'

mɛ dáŋ$_1$ á$_2$ mɛ́ búú$_3$ 'climb$_1$ and$_2$ untie$_3$ (it)'

mɛ bá$_1$ saʔde$_2$ kɔ́m$_3$ nɔ́ɔi$_4$, á$_5$ mɛ́ gɔ́n$_6$ gɛ́raa$_7$ 'take$_1$ this$_4$ animal$_2$ of mine$_3$ and$_5$ cut$_6$ its neck$_7$'

(b) Negative commands:

á$_1$ mɛ́ nɛ$_2$ mɛ yoo$_3$ zúa ná$_1$ 'don't$_1$ go$_2$ (and) stand$_3$ over them'

áí$_1$ dɛ$_2$ nú$_3$ ná$_1$ 'don't$_1$ make$_2$ noise$_3$'

tɛ-mɛ́ á bi ná 'don't forget' (= 'your body efface not')

331.2. wen kó (= 'word of'), wen kó mɔ nɛ (= 'word of thing and'), and wen-́mɔ nɛ function as connectives which join clauses with the meaning 'because.'[7] For the various alternant forms of nɛ see 332.4.)

gan nɛ́$_1$ yụm$_2$ kɛ̣́ ɛ̣́ rɛ́$_3$ ná$_1$, wen kó mɔ ndɛ$_4$ rɛ$_5$ feà$_6$ kɛ́ rɛ́ sí ʔday$_7$ '(it) won't$_1$ hurt$_2$ us$_3$, because$_4$ we$_5$ (will) have died$_6$ off$_7$'

ɔ́ nɛ́$_1$ foyo$_2$ kɔ́m$_3$, wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔ nạ$_4$ ạ$_5$ kuró$_6$ 'it's$_1$ my$_3$ disgrace$_2$, because$_4$ he$_5$ has fled$_6$'

há$_1$ mɛrsi$_2$ há$_3$ nzapá$_4$ wen kó mɔ nɛ$_5$ nzapá$_6$ ŋgɛmbá$_7$ wa$_8$ 'give$_1$ thanks$_2$ to$_3$ God$_4$, because$_5$ God$_6$ kept$_7$ them$_8$'

mɛrsée$_1$ há$_2$ nzapá$_3$ wen kó mɔ ndɛ$_4$ rɛ$_5$ zɔ́kɔ́í$_6$ sɔ́ɔ$_7$ 'thanks$_1$ to$_2$ God$_3$, because$_4$ we$_5$ see you$_6$ today$_7$'

gan$_1$ am$_2$ ị́ŋ$_3$ ná$_1$, wen kó$_4$ wá$_5$ hụsɔ́$_6$ wenáa$_7$ nɛɛ́m$_8$ 'I$_2$ didn't$_1$ know$_3$, because$_4$ they$_5$ hid$_6$ the matter$_7$ from me$_8$'

332. Connectives which join clauses and other constructions are {a} (332.1), {go} (332.2), há (332.3), nɛ (332.4), óró . . . gá (332.5), sɛ́ tɛ (332.6), só kó (332.7), tɛ (332.8), and {wéndé gan} (332.9).[8]

332.1. {a}[9]

332.11. Allomorphs. The morphologically defined allomorphs of {a} are a, á, há, and zero. Because there is no neat pattern of mutual exclusiveness in all of the environments, I simply list the distribution of the allomorphs. The analysis is made difficult by the apparent free variation of certain allomorphs in given environments.

a occurs:

(1) when {a} joins a subjectival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is imperfective: ʔbay$_1$ wení$_2$ ai$_3$ tɔ̣́i$_4$ 'just$_1$ the word$_2$ you$_3$ speak$_4$'

(2) when {a} joins such constructions but is immediately followed by the negative marker gan (but compare with (2) below): ɛ̨́$_1$ a gan$_2$ ɛ̨$_3$ zéé tɛ̨-ɛ̨̀$_4$ ná$_2$ '(she said, they said) "Me$_1$, I$_3$ didn't$_2$ obey$_4$."'

(3) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective: mɛ zɔ́k$_1$ wa$_2$, a wa$_3$ yóó$_4$ mɛ gɔ́ɔi$_5$ 'look at$_1$ them$_2$, they$_3$ are standing$_4$ over there$_5$.'

á occurs:

(1) when {a} joins a subjectival or objectival substantive phrase with a clause whose verb is perfective: wan to$_1$ á tɔ̨à$_2$ mbé wen$_3$ 'Wan-to$_1$ has related$_2$ (some) news$_3$,' wení$_1$ á mɛ́$_2$ tɔ̨ái$_3$ 'you$_2$ said$_3$ it$_1$.'

(2) when {a} joins constructions described in (1) above, even though the verb is imperfective (the examples are rare): wan$_1$-gbíyaí á bá$_2$ gɛzɛ$_3$-́sunu$_4$ 'the owner$_1$ of the gbíya takes$_2$ a basket$_3$ of sesame$_4$ (grain),' ɛn-́tɛ$_1$-ą́$_2$ wen$_3$ sɔ́n á yą́$_4$ kó ró$_5$ tɔ̨́$_6$ '(they said), "It is just$_1$ old$_2$ stories$_3$ which our$_5$ brothers$_4$ tell$_6$."'

(3) when {a} precedes the negative marker gan, except for those instances listed under (2) of a above: á$_1$ gan$_2$ kɔ̨́$_3$ ʔdoŋáa 'so$_1$ (he) didn't$_2$ want$_3$ (to),' kúrói á gan$_1$ rɛ́m$_2$ sɛnɛ̀$_3$ nái$_1$ '(the word) kúró can$_2$ not$_1$ go$_2$ there$_3$.'

(4) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is perfective: mɛ́$_1$ sɔkà$_2$ sɔ́n á$_3$ mɛ́$_4$ dɛá bisa$_5$ gɔ́ɔ$_6$ 'you$_1$ have grown up$_2$ so$_3$ now$_6$ you$_4$ are an adolescent (boy)$_5$.'

(5) when {a} joins principal clauses in which the second clause is imperfective and where a usually occurs: į́ŋ$_1$ ná$_2$ gan$_3$ kói$_4$ kó$_5$ béemi$_6$ á$_7$ fé$_8$ wéndé$_3$ '(I) don't$_2$ know$_1$ whether$_3$ the woman$_4$ bore$_5$ the child$_6$ and then$_7$ (herself) died$_8$.' This is the only example.

(6) when {a} joins secondary clauses: mɔ gɔ̨́y$_1$ á ye ge$_2$ 'so$_1$ (he) said$_2$,' foo$_1$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_2$ ná ndé aaʔ$_3$, á ye ge$_4$ '(he said), "My$_2$ in-laws$_1$, ah$_3$, (they) said$_4$,"' wééy$_1$ bɔɔ ką́$_2$ ą$_3$ nɔ́ɔ$_4$ á ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ$_5$ ną ą$_6$ kpá$_7$ wéey$_8$ 'this$_4$ husband$_1$ of$_2$ hers$_3$, all the time$_5$, she$_6$ is finding$_7$ a husband$_8$.'

(7) when {a} in a few instances joins secondary and principal clauses: wen kó ge$_1$ á mɛ́$_2$ mbunzú$_3$ nɛ mɛ nɛ́$_4$ gɔ́ɔ$_5$ gbɛ́$_6$ toró$_7$ kɔ́m$_8$ wen-́ge ndé$_1$ 'why is it$_1$, you$_2$ white man$_3$ (who) goes$_4$ there$_5$, (that you) kill$_6$ my$_8$ dog$_7$?' mɔ gɔ̨́y$_1$ á$_2$ tɛ-́wa gą́$_3$ wenáa 'so$_1$ as a result$_2$, they've cooled off$_3$,' mɔ gɔ̨́y$_1$, á ŋma$_2$ bém$_3$ ką́ ą$_4$ bó$_5$ gɔn gaza$_6$ 'so$_1$ when$_5$ one$_2$ of his$_4$ children$_3$ is circumcised$_6$.'

(8) when {a} joins principal and secondary clauses: wí$_1$ zamà$_2$ rɛ́$_3$, á mɔ gɔ̨́y$_4$, ɛrɛ$_5$ sáí$_6$ yáam$_7$ 'you$_1$ saved$_2$ us$_3$, so$_4$ we$_5$ call you$_6$ Father$_7$,' į́í$_1$ nɛ yám$_2$ ką́ ą$_3$ bó tɔ̨ mbɔra$_4$ hą́ ą . . . , á į́í nɔ́ɔi$_5$ a yám kó wa$_6$ tɔ̨́ wen$_7$ ín$_8$ wa$_9$ 'the one who$_1$ is instructed$_4$ by his$_3$ father$_2$, they (are) the ones$_5$ whose fathers$_6$ talk$_7$ to$_8$ them$_9$.'

há alternates occasionally with á and especially when {a} joins a principal clause and a substantive expression of time. My informant did not seem to use this allomorph but agreed that it was possible in the following examples:

wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔi$_1$, há$_2$ wá$_3$ aà$_4$ yín$_5$ hą́ ąi$_6$ '(it was) because of this$_1$ that$_2$ they$_3$ gave$_4$ him$_6$ the name$_5$'

o$_1$ há usò$_2$ nú-gbɛ́yá$_3$ há mɛ́$_4$ o ndé$_1$ 'who$_1$ taught$_2$ you$_4$ the Gbɛya language$_3$?'
wen kó mɔ nɛ$_1$ wééy$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ ɔ́ nɛ$_4$ gbę́$_5$ wí-ré$_6$, há mɔ gɔ̨́y, a wa$_7$ ą́$_8$ yínaa$_9$ '(it is) because$_1$ this$_3$ man$_2$ was$_4$ a brown (skinned)$_5$ person$_6$ that they$_7$ gave$_8$ (him) the name$_9$'
sí ˀdoŋ$_1$ há$_2$ mbóro$_3$ sɛ́ tɛi tɛ́$_4$ 'go back$_1$, then$_2$ come back$_4$ (in the) evening$_3$'

Zero occurs whenever a and á precede 1S and 1P pronouns am and ɛrɛ (with high or low tones):
mí$_1$ ám$_1$ gbɛá$_2$ ą$_3$ '(it is) I$_1$ (who) killed$_2$ it$_3$'
ɛ́rɛ́$_1$, ɛrɛ$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ gɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'here$_3$ we$_1$ come$_2$'

332.12. Function. {a} joins either a substantive phrase (in a complex sentence) or a clause to a clause. Since these substantive phrases (subject expansions, verb phrase expansions, and introductory constructions) are fully described in 522, the following examples illustrate only the second function, where the connective serves to mark sequence or result:
mɛ zɔ́k$_1$ wa$_2$, a wa$_3$ yóó$_4$ mɛ gɔ́ɔi$_5$ 'look at$_1$ them$_2$, they$_3$ are standing$_4$ over there$_5$'
ą$_1$ ró$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ teí$_4$ ɗoŋ$_5$, a$_6$ mbáŋ$_7$ 'he$_1$ hits$_2$ (it) against$_3$ the tree$_4$ wham$_5$, and$_6$ (it) splits$_7$'
kuu$_1$ há bangí$_2$ mɛ zɛ́ɛ$_3$, ai$_4$ péé$_5$ '(you) left$_1$ Bangui$_2$ yesterday$_3$, and you$_4$ return$_5$'
mɛ́$_1$ sɔkà$_2$ sɔ́n á$_3$ mɛ́$_4$ dɛá$_5$ bisa$_6$ gɔ́ɔ$_7$ 'you$_1$ have grown up$_2$, so$_3$ now$_7$ you$_4$ have become$_5$ an adolescent$_6$ here$_7$'

332.2. {go} is a connective with the basic meaning of sequence or consequence and is most often translated by 'and,' 'so,' 'then,' or by some combination of these. It therefore contrasts primarily with nɛ, só kó, sɛ́ tɛ, and tɛ. The tonally distinguished allomorphs and function of {go} are discussed below. The vocalically distinguished allomorphs (gą, gɛ, gę) occur according to the description in 132.2.

332.21. Allomorphs. Two allomorphs are distinguished by tones, one having high tone and the other low tone. The general rule is given below in (a) and the exceptions in (b).

(a) Allomorph with high tone usually occurs when the following word has an initial low tone, and low tone when the following word has an initial high tone.

High tone:
gó ye ge 'so (he) said'
gó dųŋ$_1$ dɔ́$_2$ ą$_3$ 'and continued$_1$ (to) burn$_2$ it$_3$'
gó gbįnɔ̀$_1$ gɛ́ɛ́$_2$-ę́$_3$ 'and broke$_1$ its$_3$ neck$_2$'
gó tɔ̨k-tɛ-́wa$_1$ bó$_2$ ŋmą́yá$_3$ 'and when$_2$ their blood$_1$ stopped$_3$ (flowing)'
gó gan$_1$ wa$_2$ há$_3$ go mɛ nɔ́$_4$ ná$_1$ 'and they$_2$ don't$_1$ give$_3$ (you some to) drink$_4$'

Low tone:
go bó$_1$ wá$_2$ rįk$_3$ įí$_4$ 'and when$_1$ they$_2$ hit$_3$ that one$_4$'

go sí$_1$ go wa$_2$ gɔ́m$_3$ te$_4$ 'and (they) return$_1$ and they$_2$ chop$_3$ wood$_4$'

go nɛ́$_1$ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'so in$_1$ this$_3$ way$_2$'

(b) Before a pronominal subject with low tone, {go} usually occurs with low tone, and before a pronominal subject with high tone, it usually occurs with high tone. In addition, the low tone allomorph often occurs where the high tone is expected, for example:

mɛ$_1$ kpá$_2$ ą$_3$ gą́$_4$ ą́$_5$ nɛà$_6$ ré-naa$_7$ ką́ ą$_8$ 'you$_1$ find$_2$ him$_3$ and$_4$ he$_5$ had gone$_6$ (to) his$_8$ mother's village$_7$'

gɛ̨ ɛ̨́$_1$ baá$_2$ '(said) "and I$_1$ took$_2$"'

gą ą$_1$ tɔ̨́ wen$_2$ rɔy rɔy$_3$ 'and he$_1$ talks$_2$ unwisely$_3$'

go ri$_1$ fók$_2$ 'so (the) water$_1$ flowed$_2$'

go gba$_1$ ą$_2$ rɔ̨ká$_3$ 'and even if$_1$ she's$_2$ good$_3$'

332.22. Function. {go} joins either a substantive phrase (in a complex sentence) or a clause to a clause. Only one occurrence of the first use occurs in the data (see the first example below). Clauses joined by {go} are either principal + principal or secondary + principal. For example:

yóa$_1$ go rɛ$_2$ péé nɛ́$_3$ gɔ́ɔ$_4$ '(it is) the hide$_1$ which we$_2$ are bringing back$_3$ here$_4$'

oo yáam$_1$, goi tɔ̨́$_2$ bɔɔ$_3$ gáa$_4$ 'oh, Father$_1$, here you talk$_2$ foolishness$_3$ like this$_4$'

oróai$_1$ go bą́$_2$ ą́$_3$ gąa$_4$ 'later$_1$, after$_2$ it$_3$ cooled off$_4$'

bɔ̨$_1$ go$_2$ ŋgɔzɔŋ nɛ́$_3$ ʔbɔ$_4$ 'well$_1$, and$_2$ Ngɔzɔŋ went$_3$ also$_4$'

gɔ̨́y$_1$ gó$_2$ ɛ̨ɛ̨̀$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ géré$_5$ fara$_6$ 'all right$_1$, so$_2$ this one$_3$ went$_4$ (to) a different$_5$ place$_6$'

kátrɛ́yɛ́ɛr$_1$ kúmázɛ́$_2$ rɛ́$_3$ . . . , gó$_4$ mɔ gɔ̨́y$_5$, bɛ́$_6$ rɛ́$_7$ hɔ$_8$ 'four o'clock$_1$ began$_2$ (to come on) us$_3$, and$_4$ well$_5$, when$_6$ we$_7$ went$_8$'

sóó$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ dį́i$_4$, go$_5$ zu-́ture$_6$, ndɛ rɛ$_7$ kúú$_8$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ slept$_3$ there$_4$, and$_5$ in the morning$_6$ we$_7$ arose$_8$'

gan$_1$ ą$_2$ dɛ́$_3$ mɔ$_4$ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ$_5$ ná$_1$, gó$_6$ ŋma wesé$_7$, só ką́ ą́$_8$ dɛ́$_9$ mɔ$_{10}$ 'he$_2$ doesn't$_1$ always$_5$ do$_3$ things$_4$, but$_6$ sometimes$_7$ he$_8$ does$_9$ things$_{10}$'

go bɔ̨́ɔ mbí ye 'and so I said'

ą$_1$ hé mɔ$_2$ wáá$_3$ taa$_4$, a bɛ̨$_5$ go ną́áraa$_6$ nɛm$_7$ zéé$_8$ pį́ɔ́ gų́rú$_9$ 'he$_1$ whistled$_2$ three$_4$ times$_3$, well$_5$ the fourth$_6$ (time), I$_7$ heard$_8$ the whistle$_9$'

gom$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ gom$_3$ yáá$_4$ 'and I$_1$ went$_2$ and I$_3$ walked around$_4$'

mɔ$_1$ nɛ mise$_2$ dɛá$_3$ gom$_4$ zɔ́k$_5$ '(the) thing$_1$ which Monsieur$_2$ did$_3$ and I$_4$ saw$_5$'

ą́$_1$ gbɔʔdà$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$ go$_4$ wa$_5$ sí$_6$ nɛ́ ą$_7$ sɛ́ 'he$_1$ is all$_3$ tired out$_2$ so$_4$ they$_5$ (should) take$_6$ him$_7$ back$_6$'

332.3. há$_1$ connects clauses and has the meaning of purpose, the translation of which is approximated by English '(so) that' and French "que" plus the subjunctive.[10] Frequent uses of this connective are: (1) when it is preceded by the verb e 'to put, leave' with the meaning 'permit . . . to . . .' and (2) when it is followed by ɔá nɛ followed by a clause with the meaning (roughly glossed) 'that the following should happen' (sometimes substitutable by sɛ́ tɛ ɔá nɛ . . .). For example:

gan$_1$ wa$_2$ kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋáa$_3$ há wá gám tɛ-́wa$_4$ lám$_5$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ didn't$_1$ want$_3$ to turn around$_4$ right away$_5$'

mɛ tɔ̣́$_1$ hám$_2$ zéé$_3$ 'say$_1$ (it) that I may$_2$ hear$_3$ (it)'
nɛ́m$_1$ si$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ gɔ̣́y$_4$, há$_5$ madáam$_6$ nɛ́ zɔká$_7$ 'I shall$_1$ return$_2$ with$_3$ (it) like this$_4$, that$_5$ Madame$_6$ may see$_7$ (it)'
zɔ́kɔ́m$_1$ há$_2$ ala$_3$ bá$_4$ mɛ́$_5$ 'look upon me$_1$ until$_2$ compassion$_3$ seizes$_4$ you$_5$'
ˀmɛ̣́ɛ́$_1$ tí-ri$_2$ há$_3$ fóŋ$_4$ ná '(Gbagbasɔ̣) stopped$_1$ (the) water$_2$ from$_3$ flowing$_4$'
é$_1$ wey$_2$ há$_3$ nɔ̣́y$_4$ 'put$_1$ (it on the) fire$_2$ to$_3$ boil$_4$'
é há$_1$ wí-ré$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ sɛ́$_4$ 'let$_1$ (some) people$_2$ come$_3$ first$_4$'

332.4. nɛ 'and' joins substantives and clauses in several combinations. It has allomorphs whose distributions are described elsewhere: for /nd/ in ndɛ and ndo see 131.1, and for the vowel change in nạ, nɛ̣, and ndo see 132.2.

332.41. nɛ joins two substantive expressions:[11]
ˀdoŋ ríító$_1$ nɛ$_2$ saŋáa$_3$ 'seven$_1$ and$_2$ a half$_3$'
mɛ tɛ́ nɛ́$_1$ ŋginza sáki$_2$ taa$_3$ nɛ$_4$ kɔ̣rá$_5$ ríító$_6$ nɛ$_7$ bé$_8$-zorọ$_9$ 'bring$_1$ three$_3$ thousand$_2$ francs and$_4$ two$_6$ chickens$_5$ and$_7$ (some) small$_8$ fish$_9$'
káy$_1$ zɔm$_2$-́paa$_3$ ín$_4$ ó boro-́birọ$_5$ nɛ$_6$ za$_7$ 'take$_1$ (a) big$_2$ knife$_3$ along with$_4$ iron weapons$_5$ and$_6$ (a) throwing knife$_7$'

332.42. nɛ joins a dependent clause attribute to a noun head which may be the subject (or expansion of the subject) of the verb or an expansion of the verb phrase. In the latter case, the noun is either the object of the verb or a noun of place or time. Although similar to the expansions of complex sentences (422), these constructions differ in being endocentric noun phrases only. Such constructions are equivalent to English relative clauses, especially such (attested) substandard ones as 'the guy that I cut his hair' (= 'the guy whose hair I cut').

332.421. Subject:
ó sɔ́kái$_1$ nɛ yá$_2$ mɛi$_3$ 'the elders$_1$ who live$_2$ there$_3$'
wa$_1$ ndɛ wa yá$_2$ kó wa nɛ́ ˀdɔɔ-búki$_3$ 'they$_1$ who were$_2$ down-wind$_3$'
zɔ́ŋ$_1$ ŋma$_2$ bé-kóo$_3$ nɛ rɔ̣́k$_4$ ˀdɛ́ 'sees$_1$ a$_2$ girl$_3$ who is good$_4$'
wa$_1$ káy$_2$ ó béem$_3$ nɛ ˀmɔná$_4$ zaŋ-ré$_5$ na$_6$ go$_7$ yá$_8$ fɪ̣́ɪ́ fɪ̣́ɪ́$_9$ gó$_{10}$ nɛ gaza$_{11}$ nái$_{12}$ 'they$_1$ take$_2$ the children$_3$ who had remained$_4$ in the village$_5$ here$_6$ and$_7$ were$_8$ small$_9$ and$_{10}$ had not$_{12}$ been circumcised$_{11}$'

332.422. Object:
dila$_1$ nạ ạ$_2$ ndɔrà$_3$ gɔ́ɔ$_4$ '(the) lion$_1$ which he$_2$ shot$_3$ here$_4$'
ó mɔ$_1$ hárá sɔ́n$_2$ nạ ạ$_3$ tɔ̣à$_4$ nɛ́i$_5$ 'all$_2$ the things$_1$ of which$_5$ he$_3$ spoke$_4$'
zɔ́k$_1$ fara-́mɔ$_2$ nɛ wí-ré$_3$ dɛ́$_4$, sɛ́ tɛ mɛ$_5$ tɔ̣́$_6$ 'see$_1$ what$_2$ a person$_3$ does$_4$ before you$_5$ speak$_6$'

332.423. Place:
fara$_1$ dɪ̣yɛ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ nɛ gạ$_3$ rɛ$_4$ kpá$_5$ wa$_6$ ná$_3$ gɔ́ɔ$_7$ 'this$_2$ place$_1$ where we$_4$ do not$_3$ find$_5$ them$_6$ here$_7$'
tɛ-́fara$_1$ ndɛ wa$_2$ ɔá$_3$ sɛnɛ́ gɔ̣́yi$_4$ 'the place$_1$ where they$_2$ were$_3$ in this manner$_4$'

332.424. Time:

wesé$_1$ nɛ ŋma wí-ré$_2$ bó$_3$ nɛ$_4$ '(the) day$_1$ when$_3$ someone$_2$ should go$_4$'

tɛm yṵ́m$_1$ tɛ-́wesé$_2$ nɛ mɛ$_3$ nɛà$_4$ tɛ-́galá$_5$ mɛi 'I was sick$_1$ on the day$_2$ you$_3$ went$_4$ to the market$_5$'

332.43. nɛ joins a substantive expression to a clause in a complex sentence in which it is a temporal expansion, a modal construction, or an explanatory construction, for examples of which see 522.

332.44. nɛ joins secondary clauses (SC) and principal clauses (PC) in the combinations SC + PC, PC + SC, and PC + PC.

(a) SC + PC:

oo? nɛ gan$_1$ nɛá$_2$ ha$_3$ dɛ́á saa$_4$ hɛ́ rɛ́$_5$ ná$_1$ 'oh, (it) would$_2$ not$_1$ have$_2$ given$_3$ us$_5$ joy$_4$'

mɛ́$_1$ wí-ré nɛ bó$_2$ mɛ́$_3$ kɔ̣ ʔdoŋ$_4$-́kiʔdi$_5$ mɔ$_6$ 'you$_1$ (for example), when$_2$ you$_3$ want to$_4$ hunt$_5$ (some-) thing$_6$'

oróaí$_1$ nɛ kpána$_2$-́ru$_3$ kambáa$_4$ ɔ́$_5$ kpém$_6$ ʔmɔ́n$_7$ 'after that$_1$, the pot$_2$ for making$_3$ the dough$_4$ was$_5$ just$_7$ one$_6$'

mɔ gɔ̣́y$_1$ nɛm bá$_2$ velóo kɔ́m$_3$ 'like this$_1$, I take$_2$ my bicycle$_3$'

(b) PC + SC:

ʔmɔ́n gɔ̣́y, nɛ gende gá 'just like that, and in other words'

bó$_1$ zɔká$_2$, nɛ óóʔ, nɛ wan to ʔburó$_3$ rii$_4$ á$_5$ zɔ̣́$_6$ 'when$_1$ (he) looked$_2$, oh, Wan-to had busted$_3$ the water (pot)$_4$ (and) thrown$_5$ (it in the) bush$_6$'

nɛ gbɛ̣rɛ́ ɛn-́tɛ̣-ɛ̣́ 'and Lizard all by himself'

(c) PC + PC:

ạ$_1$ sí ʔdoŋ ʔbɔ$_2$, nɛm$_3$ nɛ́ɛm$_4$ bá$_5$ ạ$_6$ ʔbɔ$_7$, 'he$_1$ went back$_2$, and I$_3$ went$_4$ (and) got$_5$ him$_6$ again$_7$'

háy$_1$ nɛm$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ '(I) crawl$_1$ and I$_2$ go$_3$'

káy$_1$ sɛ́rɛ$_2$, nɛ$_3$ káy kura$_4$, nɛ káy ŋgéré$_5$, nɛ káy$_6$ zɔm-́paa$_7$ '(they) take$_1$ spears$_2$, and$_3$ (they) take arrows$_4$, and (they) take shields$_5$, and (they) take large$_6$ knives$_7$'

gom$_1$ gɔ́n$_2$ zɔ̣fáa$_3$, nɛm$_4$ gɔ́n tịráa$_5$ 'so I$_1$ cut$_2$ the (elephant's) trunk$_3$, and I$_4$ cut the tail$_5$'

gom$_1$ tɛ́$_2$, nɛ$_3$ tɛá$_4$ gom$_5$ é$_6$ velóo$_7$ 'so I$_1$ came$_2$, and$_3$ (I) came$_4$ and I$_5$ placed$_6$ (the) bicycle$_7$ . . .'

bóm$_1$ zɔŋ$_2$ nɛ mise$_3$ dụŋ tɛ́$_4$ 'when I$_1$ looked$_2$, Monsieur$_3$ was coming$_4$'

332.45. nɛ joins an anacoluthic substantival or prepositional phrase to a clause. These constitute appended comments or "after-thoughts." For example:

ŋma wí-ré kpém$_1$ kuró$_2$ go$_3$ kúú$_4$ go$_5$ bá$_6$ ạ$_7$ nɛ$_8$ ŋma béem$_9$ ínaa$_{10}$ 'someone$_1$ arose$_2$ and$_3$ arose$_4$ and$_5$ took$_6$ him$_7$ and$_8$ (there was a child$_9$ with him$_{10}$ (that is, with the subject of the verb)'

te$_1$ yá$_2$ kạ́-tɛ-́ŋmaà$_3$ gáá nɔ́ɔ$_4$ rííto$_5$, nɛ taráa$_6$ 'two$_5$ trees$_1$ stood$_2$ next to each other$_3$ like this$_4$, (in fact) three$_6$'

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ daŋ$_3$ zu$_4$-́kara$_5$, nɛ tɛ-zu-́kara mɛ$_6$, nɛ raŋmgbá tɔ̣́$_7$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ climbed$_3$ (the) top$_4$ of (the) hill$_5$, the top of the hill there$_6$, Raŋmgbá said$_7$'

332.5. óró . . . gá is a discontinuous connective of comparison with the meaning 'like, as.' It combines clauses and phrases as described in the following paragraphs. The first form has an alternant óó with which it freely varies. Although both óró and gá are usually used, either one or the other may be omitted; this more often happens to gá following a long involved sentence with many dependent clauses.

332.51. óró . . . gá connects clauses with clauses, such as:

bó$_1$ nɛm$_2$ ɔ óró$_3$ nɛ́m aa hur$_4$ mɔ́m$_5$ pee ʔdoŋ$_6$ gá$_3$ 'when$_1$ I went$_2$ as if$_3$ to turn suddenly$_4$ to$_5$ come back$_6$'

zɛra$_1$-́ą$_2$ dɛ́$_3$ gaʔdaʔda óró$_4$ ną́$_5$ ą́$_6$ kúró$_7$ gá$_4$ 'his$_2$ ears$_1$ flapped$_3$ as if$_4$ he$_6$ were going to$_5$ get up$_7$'

ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ zɔ́k$_3$ kɛ́ rɛ́ réi$_4$, óró$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ yǫ́ŋ$_7$ wáráa$_8$ yǫ́ŋi$_7$ gá$_5$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ look upon$_3$ the village$_4$ as if$_5$ we$_6$ were eating$_7$ fruit$_8$' (that is, 'for us children strolling in the village is all the food we need')

332.52. It connects substantive phrases with verb expressions:[12]

gan$_1$ am$_2$ kǫ́ ʔdoŋ$_3$-́dɛ$_4$ ʔnáŋ mɔ$_5$ óró$_6$ ą$_7$ gá$_6$ ná$_1$ 'I$_2$ don't$_1$ want$_3$ to commit$_4$ evil$_5$ like$_6$ him$_7$'

ą$_1$ dɛ́ mɔ$_2$ óró$_3$ ge wí-ge$_4$ gá$_3$ ge ndé$_4$ 'he$_1$ works$_2$ like$_3$ whom$_4$?'

pɛ$_1$ ką́ ą$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ óró$_4$ kɔ́ mɛ́$_5$ gá$_4$ 'his$_2$ age$_1$ is$_3$ the same as$_4$ yours$_5$'

ŋgɛ́m$_1$ óró$_2$ mɔ nɛ mise tǫ́i$_3$ gá$_2$ 'wait$_1$ just as$_2$ Monsieur says$_3$'

332.53. óró . . . gá connects substantive phrases with other substantive phrases:

ŋma mɔ$_1$ óró$_2$ ɛ̨ɛ nɛ kó-duwa$_3$ gá$_2$ . . . gan nɛ́ bo ná$_4$ '(there) won't be$_4$ anything$_1$ like$_2$ a bewitched woman$_3$'

gan$_1$ wa$_2$ įŋ$_3$ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_4$ wen-́mąa$_5$ déʔdé$_6$ mɔ-́mąri$_7$ óró$_8$ ɛ̨ɛ$_9$ nɛ kó$_{10}$ kínɛɛ$_{11}$ gá$_8$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ didn't$_1$ know$_3$ how$_4$ to put on$_5$ good$_6$ clothes$_7$ like$_8$ these$_9$ of$_{10}$ today$_{11}$'

wa$_1$ zéé$_2$ wen$_3$ kɛ́ rɛ́$_4$ óró$_5$ mɔ gére$_6$ gá$_5$ 'they$_1$ listen to$_2$ our$_4$ words$_3$ as if$_5$ (they were) nothing$_6$'

332.6. sɛ́ tɛ is a connective of sequence which marks an incompleted action (but does not preclude a linguistic form with the perfective suffix in either the preceding or following clauses) and so contrasts with só kó. It joins either a substantive phrase (in a complex sentence) or a clause to a clause. For the allomorphs with tą, to, and tɛ̨ resulting from vowel changes see 132.2.

In the form sɛ́ (which can be taken as ellipsis of sɛ́ tɛ) this connective is the only one of all the connectives which can occur at the end of a sentence. Such a sentence implies another predication, and is frequently translated 'first' or 'then.' Unlike the final particles, whose position and function it somewhat parallels, it can be followed by other words, including the negative marker ná. For example:

ndɔ́raa$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ ŋgombe$_3$ sɛ́ tą$_4$ ą$_5$ kúú$_6$ ʔbɔ$_7$ ná$_8$ 'shoot it$_1$ with$_2$ (a) gun$_3$ so that$_4$ it$_5$ (will) not$_8$ get up$_6$ again$_7$'

ndɔ́raa nɛ́ ŋgombe sɛ́ 'shoot (it) with a gun by preference'

ŋgombe sɛ́ '(do it with) a gun by preference (that is, not with a spear)' ŋgombe sɛ́ wa 'by means of a gun, I said!'

ndɔ́raa nɛ́ ŋgombe sɛ́ ná wéndé 'wouldn't it be preferable to shoot it with a gun?'

ŋgombe sɛ́ ná wéndé '(is) not a gun preferable?'

So close are the distributions and meanings of tɛ (332.8) and sɛ́ tɛ that one is inclined to identify them as being the same. Their distinctive characteristics and the reasons for separating them are given below.

(a) Whereas sɛ́ tɛ joins a substantive expression to a clause, tɛ never does.

(b) Whereas both sɛ́ tɛ and tɛ occur in negated clauses with imperfective verbs, sɛ́ tɛ is correlated only with unrealized action in the future and tɛ with unrealized action both in the future and past, for example, ɔ́$_1$ nɛ́ mɔ$_2$ wen-́dɛ$_3$ sɛ́ tɛ$_4$ zɛ́rɛ́$_5$ tɛ́$_6$ ná$_7$ 'it's$_1$ something$_2$ to do$_3$ that$_4$ sickness$_5$ may not$_7$ come$_6$;' gan$_1$ wa$_2$ úsí$_3$ hám$_4$ tɛm$_5$ zéé$_6$ tí$_7$ ná$_1$ 'they$_2$ didn't$_1$ tell$_3$ me$_4$ (about it) that I$_5$ should have heard$_6$ (about it) before$_7$.'

(c) Only tɛ seems to join a principal clause with another one containing the auxiliary bo whether the action has been realized or not. In narratives, where the imperfective verb is very commonly used instead of the perfective, the connective tɛ is used in this manner, equivalent in meaning with the connective go, such as: gbɛà$_1$ ką́ ą́$_2$ įí$_3$ taa$_4$, tɛ$_5$ bą́$_6$ ą́$_7$ zik tɛ-́ą$_8$ 'he himself$_2$ killed$_1$ three$_4$ over there$_3$, and$_5$ when$_6$ he$_7$ turned around$_8$ . . . ;' ą$_1$ dɔ́m$_2$ fɛ̨ra$_3$, tɛ$_4$ bóm$_5$ zee$_6$ 'he$_1$ was blowing$_2$ a whistle$_3$, and$_4$ as I$_5$ listened$_6$ . . . ;' gą$_1$ ą$_2$ yú$_3$ nɛ́$_4$, tɛ$_5$ bó$_6$ mɛ́$_7$ tɔ̨$_8$ ŋma wen$_9$ ínaa$_{10}$ 'and$_1$ he$_2$ runs away$_3$ with$_4$ (it), and$_5$ should$_6$ you$_7$ say$_8$ something$_9$ to him$_{10}$ . . .'

(d) Only tɛ connects a series of clauses with bó: raŋmgbá bó$_1$ tɔ̨$_2$ gɔ̨́y$_3$, tɛ$_4$ bɛ́ rɛ́$_5$ daŋ$_6$ zu-́karai$_7$ 'when$_1$ Raŋmgbá had spoken$_2$ in this manner$_3$ and$_4$ we$_4$ had climbed$_6$ to the top of the hill$_7$ . . . ;' mise$_1$ bó$_2$ aa$_3$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ . . . , tɛ$_4$ bó$_5$ nɛm aa kóm$_6$ . . . tɛ$_7$ ó ŋgɔzɔŋ bó aa$_8$ . . . tɛ$_9$ bó$_{10}$ nɛm kip$_{11}$ 'when$_2$ Monsieur$_1$ turned off to the side$_3$, and$_4$ when$_5$ I turned off to the side,$_6$ and$_7$ Ngɔzɔŋ turned off to the side$_8$, and$_9$ when$_{10}$ I went (and) turned around$_{11}$ . . . '

(e) Whereas in some instances só kó may replace sɛ́ tɛ (with a corresponding change in meaning), it never replaces tɛ. For example: ák$_1$ ŋmaá só kó (or sɛ́ tɛ) pį́$_2$ tan$_3$-́zɔra$_4$ zɔ̨́ (proverb) 'ask$_1$ (before) throwing away$_2$ the rat's$_4$ head$_3$.'

332.61. sɛ́ tɛ joins a substantive expression to a clause in a complex sentence in which it is a temporal or subject expansion; there is only one example of the latter, the last of the following:

mbé ze ʔdoŋɛ$_1$ sɛ́ tɛ$_2$ gbó$_3$ 'next month$_1$ then$_2$ (they'll) arrive$_3$'

bɛrɛ$_1$ sɛ́ tɛ wa$_2$ há$_3$ ŋginza$_4$ 'they$_2$ give$_3$ money$_4$ (in the) dry season$_1$'

ŋma wesé$_1$ sɛ́ tɛm$_2$ há$_3$ ŋma ŋginza$_4$ há mɛ́$_5$ 'some day$_1$ (in the future) then I'll$_2$ give$_3$ you$_5$ some money$_4$'

ŋma mɔ$_1$ óró$_2$ ɛ̨ɛ nɛ kó-duwa$_3$ wéndé gan$_4$ wí-fiyo$_5$, sɛ́ tɛ gbɛ́$_6$ kpasi$_7$ kó mɛ́$_8$ mbéa ʔbɔ kpém$_9$ gan nɛ́ bo ná$_{10}$ 'there won't be$_{10}$ anything$_1$ at all$_9$ like$_2$ a bewitched woman$_3$ or$_4$ a fetishist$_5$ to destroy$_6$ your$_8$ life$_7$'

332.62. sɛ́ tɛ joins two clauses, usually principal clauses. For example:

wa$_1$ rí$_2$ sɛ́ tɛ$_3$ wa$_4$ nɛ́ nɛ́$_5$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ (it) and then$_3$ they$_4$ take (them)' ndo ro$_1$ sí nɛ$_2$ kó$_3$ ką́ ą$_4$ hą́$_5$ ą$_6$ sɛ́ tą$_7$ ą$_8$ ɔ́$_9$ ínaa$_{10}$ '(they said) "We'll$_1$ return$_2$ his$_4$ wife$_3$ to$_5$ him$_6$ and then$_7$ he'll$_8$ sleep$_9$ with her$_{10}$"'

o$_1$ a tɛ́$_2$ tǫ$_3$ ŋma mbé wen$_4$ sɛ́ tɛ ro$_5$ nɔ́$_6$ dǫɔ́i$_7$ o ndé$_1$ '(they said) "Who's$_1$ going to come$_2$ relate$_3$ something new$_4$ so we (can)$_5$ drink$_6$ the beer$_7$?"'

ɔà$_1$ nɛ́ ndará$_2$ sɛ́ tɛ nɛám$_3$ ndɔraa$_4$ '(if it) were$_1$ a buffalo$_2$, I would have$_3$ shot$_4$ (it)'

nɛ́m$_1$ tǫ wen$_2$ ín$_3$ wa$_4$ sɛ́ tɛ$_5$ ndɛ́ wá$_6$ sa$_7$ ą$_8$ 'I'm going$_1$ to talk$_2$ with$_3$ them$_4$, and then$_5$ they'll$_6$ call$_7$ him$_8$'

kpém$_1$ sɛ́ tɛ$_2$ bá bái$_3$ '(if there were) one$_1$ then$_2$ (you would) grab it$_3$ (using the word bá)'

mbóro$_1$ ną ą tɛ́$_2$ wen-́kay$_3$ mbɛ́tí$_4$, sɛ́ tɛ$_5$ bin$_6$ ną ą nɛ́$_7$ nɛ́ 'he's coming$_2$ (in the) evening$_1$ to get$_3$ (the) mail$_4$, and then$_5$ tomorrow$_6$ he'll take (it)$_7$'

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ tɛ$_3$ sɔ́ɔ$_4$ ná$_5$, sɛ́ tɛ$_6$ binɛ́ɛ$_7$ nɛm káy$_8$ nɛ́ nɛ́$_9$ 'if$_1$ they$_2$ don't$_5$ come$_3$ today$_4$, then$_6$ tomorrow$_7$ I'll take$_8$ (it and) go$_9$'

332.7. só kó (and its free-form alternant sóó) is a connective with the basic meaning of 'action realized' or 'result effected' illustrated in the English glosses by 'after which the following happens' or 'has happened,' or 'which results (or resulted) in the following.'[13] It therefore very clearly contrasts with sɛ́ tɛ. (Although the learner of the language must know the permitted and nonpermitted, "idiomatic," uses of this and the other connectives, it is beyond the scope of this grammar to describe these.) For the allomorphs with kɔ́, kɛ́, kę́, and ką́ resulting from vowel changes see 132.2. Before the general function of só kó is outlined, the contrast with sɛ́ tɛ is illustrated by the following examples:

ŋma wesé$_1$ só ką́ ą́$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ 'he$_2$ used to come$_3$ occasionally$_1$,' ŋma wesé$_1$ sɛ́ tą ą$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ 'he'll$_2$ come$_3$ some day$_1$,' ŋma wesé ną ą tɛ́ 'he comes occasionally'

mɛ$_1$ láŋgí$_2$ tuwa$_3$ mǫɔrɔ́$_4$ sɛ́ tɛ$_5$ mɛ$_6$ gbó$_7$ 'you$_1$ pass$_2$ five$_4$ houses$_3$, and then$_5$ you'll$_6$ arrive$_7$,' ám$_1$ laŋgá$_2$ tuwa$_3$ mǫɔrɔ́$_4$ só kóm$_5$ gboá$_6$ 'I$_1$ passed$_2$ five$_4$ houses$_3$, and then I$_5$ arrived$_6$'

bą́$_1$ ą́$_2$ dɛ$_3$ pɛ$_4$ kpém$_5$ sóóm$_6$ kų́ náŋá$_7$-usi$_8$ hą́ ą$_9$ 'when$_1$ she$_2$ was$_3$ one$_5$ year$_4$ (old), I$_6$ began$_7$ to teach$_8$ her$_9$,' bą́ ą́ dɛ pɛ rííto, sɛ́ tɛm úsí mbɛ́tí hą́ ą 'when$_1$ she's two years old, I'll teach her to read'

ák ŋmaá só kó (or sɛ́ tɛ) pį́ tan-́zɔra zǫ́ 'ask someone before throwing the rat's head away' (proverb)

332.71. só kó joins a substantive expression to a clause in a complex sentence in which it is a temporal, object, or modal expansion. For example:

sɛ́rɛ$_1$ ndɛ wa$_2$ gbɛá$_3$ nɛ bém$_4$ kó wa$_5$ só kę́ ę́$_6$ baái$_7$ '(he said) "I$_6$ took$_7$ the spear$_1$ with which they$_2$ killed$_3$ their$_5$ child$_4$"'

nú-wen nɔ́ɔ só kó mɛ́$_1$ tǫ́$_2$ ye ge 'what was it you$_1$ said$_2$?'

bɛrɛ$_1$ só kó rɛ́$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ saʔde$_4$ 'we$_2$ (used to) kill$_3$ animals$_4$ (in the) dry season$_1$'

gó mɔ gǫ́y$_1$, só ką́$_2$ ą́$_3$ tǫ́$_4$ ye ge 'so$_1$ then$_2$ he$_3$ said$_4$'

332.72. só kó joins two clauses. For example:

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ bá$_3$ ą$_4$ nɛ́ tįį$_5$ só kɛ́$_6$ rɛ́$_7$ nɛ́$_8$ 'then$_1$ we$_2$ took$_3$ him$_4$ on (the) canoe$_5$ after which$_6$ we$_7$ went on$_8$'

mbóro$_1$ dɛá$_2$, sóó$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ ɔ́$_5$ dįi$_6$ 'it became$_2$ evening$_1$, so$_3$ we$_4$ slept$_5$ there$_6$'

nú$_1$-ąrɛ$_2$ ʔmáá$_3$ só kó$_4$ ri$_5$ á$_6$ sɛnɛ́ (proverb) '(the) oyster's$_2$ mouth$_1$ opens$_3$ and$_4$ water$_5$ goes$_6$ in$_7$'

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ gam tɛ-rɛ́$_3$ wen kó$_4$ péráa$_5$, só kɛ́ rɛ́$_6$ kpá$_7$ ŋa$_8$ mbɛɛ$_9$ 'after$_1$ we$_2$ had turned around$_3$ to$_4$ come back$_5$, we$_6$ found$_7$ some$_8$ reed-buck$_9$'

wá$_1$ dɛá fiyo$_2$ sóó$_3$ wá$_4$ koà$_5$ nɛ́ ą$_6$ 'they$_1$ gave offerings to a fetish$_2$ after which$_3$ they$_4$ bore$_5$ (a child) by means of it$_6$'

ó wí-ré$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ dɔkà$_3$ nɛ́ saa ná$_4$ só kó$_5$ wá$_6$ feà$_7$ sɔ́n$_8$ 'these$_2$ people$_1$ were very$_4$ numerous$_3$ but then$_5$ they$_6$ all$_8$ died off$_7$'

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ péé nɛ́$_3$, sóó mɔ gǫ́y$_4$ a há$_5$ dɛ́á saa$_6$ hɛ́ rɛ́$_7$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ brought (it) back$_3$, and so$_4$ (it) gave$_5$ us$_7$ joy$_6$'

332.8. tɛ is a connective of sequence (usually of future time) and purpose. As a sequence marker, it has practically the same meaning as {go} (332.2); as a purpose marker, it has practically the same meaning as sɛ́ tɛ (332.6). It joins modal constructions to clauses in complex sentences and clauses to clauses. The former use is attested by only one example (522.31). For the allomorphs to, tą, and tę resulting from vowel changes see 132.2. The examples are grouped according to whether the meaning is assumed to be sequential or purposive.

332.81. Sequence:

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ péé$_3$ . . . , tɛ$_4$ bɛ́$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ ʔmɔn$_7$ mɛ$_8$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ returned$_3$ . . . , and$_4$ while$_5$ we$_6$ were still$_7$ there$_8$ . . .'

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ nɛ$_3$ tɛ$_4$ bɛ́$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ gbóá$_7$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ went$_3$ and$_4$ when$_5$ we$_6$ arrived$_7$'

mɛ tɛ́$_1$ tɛ$_2$ mɛ zɔ́k$_3$ fara$_4$-sɛ́rɛ$_5$ kɔ́m$_6$ 'come$_1$ and$_2$ look at$_3$ (the) place$_4$ of my$_6$ spear$_5$'

332.82. Purpose. In addition to the typical connecting function of tɛ illustrated below, there is the minor clause tɛ ɔá nɛ 'and was and' which itself serves to connect two principal clauses with the meaning of purpose and has the same function as tɛ by itself:

oro$_1$ há$_2$ mɔ$_3$ hą́ ą$_4$ tą ą dɛ́$_5$ to ro$_6$ yǫ́ŋ$_7$ '(they said) "We$_1$ give$_2$ her$_4$ things$_3$ for her to make$_5$ for us$_6$ to eat$_7$"'

nɛ$_1$ há$_2$ ą$_3$ há$_4$ wéey$_5$ tą$_6$ ą$_7$ kó$_8$ béem$_9$ 'and$_1$ (they) give$_2$ her$_3$ to$_4$ (the) man$_5$ so that$_6$ she$_7$ will bear$_8$ children$_9$'

wen$_1$-́tɛ$_2$ wen-́zɔk$_3$ ó béem$_4$ kó wa$_5$ . . . , tɛ$_6$ ó naa$_7$ kó wa$_8$ zɔ́k$_9$ wa$_{10}$ 'to$_1$ come$_2$ to see$_3$ their$_5$ children$_4$ . . . , that$_6$ their$_8$ mothers$_7$ might see$_9$ them$_{10}$'

tɛ ɔá ndɛ wa kpá$_1$ mɔ$_2$ sɛnɛ́$_3$ tɛ$_4$ wa$_5$ yǫ́ŋ$_6$ 'to find$_1$ something$_2$ there$_3$ that$_4$ they$_5$ might eat$_6$'

go$_1$ wesé nɛ bó$_2$ wá$_3$ kų náŋá$_4$ tɛ wa yáá yarí$_5$, nɛ ŋma wí-ré$_6$ bá$_7$ gbíya 'so$_1$ when$_2$ they$_3$ begin$_4$ to hunt$_5$, someone$_6$ appropriates$_7$ (the) gbíya'

há$_1$ oro-nú$_2$ hó$_3$ wa$_4$ wen kó$_5$ saʔde$_6$ tɛ ɔá ndɛ wa gúrí$_7$ '(we) gave$_1$ instructions$_2$ to$_3$ them$_4$ about$_5$ (the) meat$_6$ for them to smoke$_7$ (it)'

wa$_1$ há$_2$ kɔ̨rá$_3$ tɛ ɔá nɛ gbɛ́$_4$ 'they$_1$ give$_2$ a chicken$_3$ to have killed$_4$'
gan$_1$ ɛ̨$_2$ kpá$_3$ dɛ́á saa$_4$ tɛ ɔá nɛ̨ ɛ̨ dų́ŋ$_5$ ín$_6$ wééy$_7$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_8$ . . . ná$_1$ '(she said) "I$_2$ don't$_1$ find$_3$ any pleasure$_4$ in remaining$_5$ with$_6$ my$_8$ husband$_7$"'
ɔ́$_1$ nɛ kó mɛ́$_2$ ʔmɔ́n$_3$ tɛ ɔá nɛ mɛ wéé$_4$ 'it's$_1$ just$_3$ yours$_2$ to worship$_4$'

332.9. {wéndé gan} is a cover symbol for a group of connectives with similar meanings and distributions.[14] They include the morphemes wéndé and gan in various combinations. The morpheme gan occurs with high and low tones, the first before words with an initial low tone and the second before words with an initial high tone. They do not lend themselves to easy description probably because the patterns have not yet become formalized. The various combinations are grouped according to whether they join only alternative elements with the meaning 'or' (332.91) or whether they join alternative elements or nonalternative elements (332.92). In the following, X represents any syntactic element and (. . .) represents any intervening stretch of speech.

332.91. wéndé gan occurs in the following combinations: (a) X wéndé gan X wéndé, (b) X wéndé gan X, and (c) wéndé gan X wéndé gan X. These combinations all serve to join substantives and all but (c) serve to join clauses with the meaning 'or.'

(a) X wéndé gan X wéndé:

rɛ́m wen kó$_1$ dįmísi$_2$ rííto$_3$ wéndé, gán ze$_4$ kpém$_5$ wéndé 'for about$_1$ two$_3$ weeks$_2$ or one$_5$ month$_4$'
bó$_1$ wá$_2$ ɔ$_3$ kɔ̨$_4$-kútú-gaza$_5$ wen$_6$-́ze$_7$ kpém$_8$ wéndé gán ze rííto$_9$ wéndé 'after$_1$ they$_2$ have slept$_3$ in$_4$ (the) circumcision hut$_5$ for$_6$ one$_8$ or two$_9$ months$_7$'
hayá$_1$ gó$_2$ nɛá$_3$ go$_4$ wa gú$_5$ ʔdɔɔ$_6$-́waka$_7$ wéndé, ndɛ wa$_8$ gbɛ́$_9$ wa$_{10}$, gán wa$_{11}$ ʔmɔná gó wá reá$_{12}$ ʔdɔɔ-́poo$_{13}$ wéndé, go wa gbɛ́ wa '(whether the animals) have crawled$_1$ and$_2$ gone$_3$ and$_4$ hidden$_5$ in$_6$ (the) dry grass$_7$, they$_8$ kill$_9$ them$_{10}$, or whether they$_{11}$ have entered$_{12}$ the gallery-forest$_{13}$, they kill them'

(b) X wéndé gan X:

bó dɛ ze$_1$ kpém$_2$ wéndé gán$_3$ ze$_1$ rííto$_4$ 'when (they have done this) for one$_2$ or$_3$ two$_4$ months$_1$'
naa$_1$ kɔ̨́ ą$_2$ wéndé gan$_3$ yám$_4$ kɔ̨́ ą gí$_5$ dɔ̨ɔ́$_6$ 'his$_2$ mother$_1$ or$_3$ his father$_4$ makes$_5$ beer$_6$'
tą$_1$ ą$_2$ kpá$_3$ ó ŋma mɔ-́yɔ̨ŋi$_4$ wéndé gan$_5$ ó ŋginza$_6$ 'that$_1$ he$_2$ might get$_3$ things to eat$_4$ or$_5$ money$_6$'
wa$_1$ gbɛ́$_2$ wí-ré$_3$ taa$_4$ wéndé gan ną́á$_5$ wéndé gán mɔ̨ɔrɔ́$_6$ 'they$_1$ kill$_2$ three$_4$ or four$_5$ or five$_6$ people$_3$'
wa$_1$ yɔ̨́ŋ$_2$ ó kɔndi$_3$ kɔ́m$_4$ wéndé gan dų́ŋ$_5$ wa$_6$ yɔ̨́ŋ$_7$ say$_8$ kɔ́m$_9$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ my$_4$ corn$_3$ or they$_6$ keep on$_5$ eating$_7$ my$_9$ pumpkins$_8$'
wa$_1$ nɛ́ gaza$_2$ wen-sɔ́káa$_3$ tɛ$_4$ wa$_5$ háá tą́ wen$_6$ wéndé gán, tɛ ɔá ndɛ wa į́ŋ$_7$ mɔ$_8$ 'they$_1$ go to be circumcised$_2$ for maturity$_3$, that$_4$ they$_5$ might think (rightly)$_6$, or that they might know$_7$ things$_8$'
yám$_1$ kɔ̨́ ą$_2$ kúú$_3$ go$_4$ nɛ́$_5$, wéndé gán naa$_6$ kɔ̨́ ą$_7$ nɛ́$_8$ 'his$_2$ father$_1$ arises$_3$ and$_4$ goes$_5$ or his$_7$ mother$_6$ goes$_8$'

(c) wéndé gan X wéndé gan X connects substantives and occurs in only one example:

wa$_1$ gbɛ́$_2$ ạ$_3$, wéndé gan rííto$_4$ wéndé gán taa$_5$ 'they$_1$ kill$_2$ him$_3$, or
(maybe) two$_4$ or three$_5$ (of them)'

332.92. gan and gan wéndé occur in the following combinations (where
comma indicates pause between constructions): (a) gan X wéndé, gan X
wéndé, (b) gan X wéndé, and (c) gan. The meaning is 'if' or 'whether,' and
where there are two alternative elements there is an added meaning of 'or.'
All join clauses (the first of which usually contains a verb of cognition), but
only (a) joins substantives:

(a) gan X wéndé, gan X wéndé:

gan$_1$ am$_2$ ị́ŋ$_3$ kóm ná$_1$, gán mise$_4$ wéndé gán ŋgɔzɔŋ$_5$ wéndé, nɛ$_6$ tɔ̣́$_7$
gende gá ye 'I$_2$ don't$_1$ know$_3$ whether (it was) Monsieur$_4$ or Ngɔzɔŋ$_5$
but$_6$ (someone) said$_7$ . . . '

ị́ŋ$_1$ ná$_2$ gán wa$_3$ péé$_4$ zɛɛ$_5$ wéndé gán bin$_6$ sɛ́ wéndé '(I) don't$_2$ know$_1$
whether they$_3$ are coming$_4$ tonight$_5$ or tomorrow$_6$'

gá ye$_1$, há ró$_2$ dák$_3$ kéey$_4$ há zaŋ$_5$-́wa$_6$, gan tɛ́ nɛ wa gɔn wa nɛ́ gaza$_7$
nɛ ndɛ́ wá$_8$ hee kɔ̣wà$_9$ wéndé, gan tɛ́ wá hee kɔ̣wà ná$_{10}$ wéndé
'(they) said$_1$, "Let's$_2$ take$_3$ (the) fear$_4$ out of$_5$ them$_6$, (to find out)
whether, when they go and get circumcised$_7$, they will$_8$ cry$_9$ or
whether they will not$_{10}$ cry"'

wen$_1$-́zɔk$_2$ ó béem$_3$ kó wa$_4$ nɛ ɔá$_5$ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̣́$_6$ kɔ́ɔ́ yɛ̣́ɛ́$_7$, gan ó béemi$_8$
ŋmgbaŋgà$_9$ wéndé gán wa ŋmgbáŋ ná wéndé ' . . . to$_1$ see$_2$ their$_4$
children$_3$ who were$_5$ in the bush$_6$ a long time$_7$ (to see) whether or
not the children$_8$ had gotten fat$_9$'

(b) gan X wéndé:

ye ge$_1$, gan$_2$ ɛ̣$_3$ ị́ŋ$_4$ ʔdoŋ-wáraa kpém$_5$ ná$_2$, gan ɛ̣ɛ nɔ́ɔ$_6$ ɔ́$_7$ nɛ mbé$_8$ weŋ$_9$
a ndɛ́ wá tɔ̣́á$_{10}$ wéndé, nɛ̣ ɛ̣ ị́ŋ ná '(he) said$_1$, "I$_3$ don't$_2$ know$_4$ at all$_5$
whether (or not) this$_6$ is$_7$ a new$_8$ story$_9$ for them to tell$_{10}$, I just
don't know"'

ị́ŋ$_1$ ná$_2$ gan kóoi$_3$ kó$_4$ béemi$_5$ á$_6$ fé$_7$ wéndé '(I) don't$_2$ know$_1$ whether (or
not) the woman$_3$ bore$_4$ the child$_5$ and then$_6$ (herself) died$_7$'

(c) gan:

nɛ́m$_1$ aŋ$_2$ mɛ́$_3$, gán$_4$ mɛ$_5$ kɔ̣́ ʔdoŋáa$_6$ hám$_7$ káy$_8$ mɔ$_9$ kó mɛ́$_{10}$ há$_{11}$ mɛ́$_{12}$
'I'm going$_1$ to ask$_2$ you$_3$ if$_4$ you$_5$ want$_6$ me$_7$ to collect$_8$ your$_{10}$ things$_9$
for$_{11}$ you$_{12}$'

333. The one connective which joins (a) a verb expression or (b) a dependent clause to a verb expression is mɔ́ (occurring with 1P and 3P with initial
mb) whose meaning is purpose or reason.[15] When a noun is the subject of
the verb in the dependent clause, mɔ́ precedes both the noun and the verb;
see the last example under (b). In the first five examples under (b) the subjects of the two clauses are the same; in the next six they are different.

(a) with verb expressions:

wan to kpá$_1$ ri$_2$ mɔ́$_3$ nɔ$_4$ ín bém$_5$ kɛ̣́ ɛ̣́$_6$ ná$_7$ 'Wan-to did$_1$ not$_7$ find$_1$ water$_2$
(for him and) his$_6$ child$_5$ to$_3$ drink$_4$'

rífíí$_1$ nɛ́ ay$_2$ oro-rɛ́$_3$, mɔ́ yụmúí$_4$ 'your eyes$_1$ will seek$_2$ after us$_3$ to (the
point of) hurting you$_4$'

wí-ré$_1$ bó$_2$ nɛ$_3$ mɔ́ ba$_4$ mɔ́ e$_5$ zu-́fey$_6$ 'when$_2$ a person$_1$ goes$_3$ (and) takes$_4$ (it) and puts$_5$ (it) on (the) grave$_6$'

ó wí-ré$_1$ gan$_2$ kpá$_3$ ri$_4$ mɔ́ nɔ́á$_5$ ná$_2$ 'people$_1$ didn't$_2$ find$_3$ water$_4$ to drink$_5$'

gan ɔ́ mɔ́ tɛ dį́yɛ ná '(the rain) is not coming here'

(b) with dependent clauses:

wa$_1$ ndín$_2$ kó-fey mbɔ́ wá rįk$_3$ kó-fey 'they$_1$ chased$_2$ Kó-fey to hit$_3$ Kó-fey'

gan am$_1$ rɛ́m$_2$ mɔ́m si$_3$ ná 'I$_1$ am not able$_2$ to return$_3$'

bó$_1$ nɛm$_2$ kip$_3$ mɔ́m$_4$ nɛ$_5$ bɔlɔ́a$_6$ 'when$_1$ I went$_2$ (and) turned$_3$ to$_4$ go$_5$ after him$_6$'

nɛ́ mɛ́$_1$ kpa$_2$ saʔde$_3$ mɔ́ mɛ́$_4$ si$_5$ mɔ́ mɛ́ yǫ́ŋá$_6$ 'you'll$_1$ find$_2$ (an) animal$_3$ for you$_4$ to return$_5$ and eat$_6$'

ą$_1$ bá$_2$ ęɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ mbɛ́ rɛ́$_4$ pee$_5$ nɛ́$_6$ 'he$_1$ took$_2$ this$_3$ for us$_4$ to return$_5$ with$_6$ (it)'

há$_1$ oro-nú$_2$ wen-́nɛ$_3$ mbɔ́ wá$_4$ wa$_5$ '(they) gave$_1$ instructions$_2$ (for them) to go$_3$ to$_4$ hoe$_5$ . . . '

gan ɔ́ mɔ́m dɛ$_1$ gǫ́y$_2$ ná 'I shouldn't do$_1$ (it) like that$_2$'

ɔ́ rǫ́k ʔdɛ́ mɔ́m dɛ ge ndé 'what should I do?'

340. Prepositions.

Prepositions are those words which join (a) substantives or verb expressions to substantives and (b) substantives to verb expressions in endocentric constructions.[16] In substantive phrases, {ín} 'with' and kó 'of' occur. In verb phrases, ʔbó 'for,' há 'for,' and nɛ́ 'with' occur. Except for certain restricted uses of kó and nɛ́ discussed below, the prepositions do not occur following or preceding a pause. All of them except {ín} and nɛ́ have allomorphs with the vowels /o ɛ ę ą/, and kó occurs also with /ɔ/, the conditions for which see 132.2. nɛ́ infrequently occurs with /nd/, for which see 131.1.

341. ʔbó is similar to há in meaning benefaction, but it has the added meaning 'also.' For example:

ám$_1$ eá$_2$ ŋmaa$_3$ ʔbó$_4$ mɛ́$_5$ 'I$_1$ left$_2$ some$_3$ for$_4$ you$_5$ also$_4$'

binɛ́ɛ$_1$ nɛ mɛ dɛ́ gɛnɛ$_2$ ʔbóm$_3$ 'tomorrow$_1$ treat$_2$ me$_3$ as a guest$_2$ (that is, make some food for me)'

mbá$_1$ ą$_2$ ʔbɛ́$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ 'greet$_1$ him$_2$ for$_3$ us$_4$'

342. há$_2$ (with allomorphs há, hą́, hɛ́, hę́, hó) has the following meanings: benefaction (translated 'for, to, among, in behalf of,' etc.), origin (translated 'from, out of'), and relation (translated 'before'). Use with the last meaning is not common, and only one example occurred in the corpus.

wa$_1$ dɛ́ bisa$_2$ hó wa$_3$ 'they$_1$ dress$_2$ them$_3$ up$_2$'

ndó ró$_1$ tɛ kɔfɛ́a$_2$ há$_3$ bisa$_4$ kó ró$_5$ '(they said that) they would$_1$ come (working) for the bride$_2$ for the sake of$_3$ their$_5$ boy$_4$'

há$_1$ ŋmaa$_2$ hɛ́$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ 'give$_1$ some$_2$ to$_3$ us$_4$'

mɛ tǫ́$_1$ hą́ ą$_2$ 'tell$_1$ him$_2$'

wa$_1$ kę́$_2$ há$_3$ bém$_4$ kó wa$_5$ 'they$_1$ divide$_2$ (it) among$_3$ their$_5$ children$_4$'

há ró$_1$ dák$_2$ kéey$_3$ há$_4$ zaŋ-́wa$_5$ 'let's$_1$ take$_2$ (the) fear$_3$ out of$_4$ them$_5$'

ą́$_1$ zɔká$_2$ saʔde$_3$ tí ná$_4$ toró$_5$ 'he$_1$ saw$_2$ (the) animal$_3$ before$_4$ (the) dog$_5$ (did)'

343. {ín} has the meanings instrument or accompaniment (translated 'with, along with, in addition to, and, as well as, accompanied by, by means of') and direction (translated 'for, to, against, in relation to'). It has the following allomorphs: íni- which occurs with the 1S, 3S, and 2P pronominal suffixes, and ín which occurs in all other environments:

ą$_1$ rį́ŋ$_2$ nu$_3$ ínaa$_4$ 'he$_1$ fell$_2$ down$_3$ with it$_4$'
wa$_1$ yɔ̨́ŋ$_2$ zaŋ$_3$-́duwai$_4$ ín sɛráa$_5$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ the stomach$_3$ of the goat$_4$ as well as the liver$_5$'
ó gbęrɛ́$_1$ ín dila$_2$, a wa yáá$_3$ '(the) Lizard (sp. of Varanus)$_1$ and (the) Lion$_2$ were walking around$_3$'
koyo ín ó mboró$_1$ ín ó dawa$_2$ tɛ́ 'koyo (birds) and red monkeys$_1$ and green monkeys$_2$ come'
bó$_1$ wá$_2$ kɔy$_3$ mɔ$_4$ ín$_5$ mɛ́$_6$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ ask$_3$ something$_4$ of$_5$ you$_6$'
ám$_1$ heʔdá$_2$ ín$_3$ doʔdía$_4$ 'I$_1$ came near$_2$ to$_3$ the end$_4$'
nɔ̨́y$_1$-nɛ$_2$ ŋgɔ́n$_3$, tanáa$_4$ ŋmą́y$_5$ ín$_6$ kílí ta$_7$ 'the head$_4$ of a bird$_1$ which flies$_2$ above$_3$ comes off$_5$ by means of$_6$ a pebble$_7$' (a proverb)
wan to kpá$_1$ ri$_2$ rɔ́$_3$ nɔ$_4$ ín$_5$ bém$_6$ kę́ ę́$_7$ ná$_8$ 'Wan-to did not$_8$ find$_1$ any water$_2$ to$_3$ drink$_4$ along with$_5$ his$_7$ child$_6$'
ɛrɛ$_1$ ŋgáy$_2$ ndú$_3$-rɛ́$_4$ ín$_5$ mɛ́$_6$ 'we$_1$ harden$_2$ our$_4$ mouths$_3$ against$_5$ you$_6$'
ą$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ nɛ wí-gida$_3$ íniím 'he$_1$ is$_2$ my enemy$_3$'
wa káy ŋmaá ín dila 'he and the Lion got together' (= 'they take each-other with lion')
ré ką́ ą ɔ́ kpém íniím 'his village is the same as mine' (= 'village of him is one with-me')

344. kó has the meaning possession or appurtenance; it sometimes also signals relationship or characteristic. This preposition only rarely follows intimate nouns, the possession of which is generally symbolized by the morpheme {-́} (see 381.11). Two other uses of the preposition are common: (1) A construction consisting of the noun wen 'affair, word' and a prepositional phrase very often has the meaning 'for, to, in behalf of;' (2) A prepositional phrase consisting of kó and a personal pronoun frequently occurs either immediately following a verbal predicate or at the beginning of a sentence to emphasize the subject, for the purpose of contrasting it with another subject. It might be translated 'as for . . . ' For example:

ó yą́$_1$ kɔ́í$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$, bó$_4$ wá$_5$ hɔ$_6$ lɛkɔ́ɔl$_7$ 'all$_3$ your$_2$ buddies$_1$, when$_4$ they$_5$ get out of$_6$ school$_7$'
wen$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$ sɔnà$_3$ sɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'my$_2$ story$_1$ is finished$_3$ today$_4$'
gbɛá$_1$ saʔde-́tɛ$_2$ kó$_3$ wí-ré$_4$ 'killed$_1$ (the) bodies$_2$ of$_3$ people$_4$'
ɛrɛ káŋgí kɔ̨-́sɛra kɛ́ rɛ́ 'let's be courageous' (= 'we shut inside liver of us')
gan$_1$ rɛ$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ wen kó$_4$ si$_5$ ná$_1$ 'we$_2$ didn't$_1$ come$_3$ to$_4$ go on$_5$ (home)'
ną́ ą́$_1$ zam$_2$ wa$_3$ óró$_4$ kɛ́ rɛ́$_5$ gá$_4$ 'he'll$_1$ save$_2$ them$_3$ like$_4$ us$_5$'
nɛ$_1$ kó$_2$ túrú$_3$, ɔ́$_4$ kę́ ę́ nɛ mɔ$_5$-́nu$_6$ 'and$_1$ as for$_2$ clothes$_3$, (they) are$_4$ things of (this) world$_6$'
ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ zɔ́k$_3$ kɛ́ rɛ́ réi$_4$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ saw$_3$ the village$_4$'

345. **nɛ́** has two allomorphs: **nɛ** which occurs preceding a word with initial high tone and (2) **nɛ́** which occurs elsewhere. It has the following meanings: (a) accompaniment (translated 'accompanied by, with,' etc.), (b) instrument (translated 'by means of, out of, with,' etc.), (c) object (translated 'into, resulting in, against, about, concerning,' etc.), and (d) location (both of time and place, translated 'at, on,' etc.). Although it occurs in construction only with substantives, it can, unlike other prepositions, occur without a substantive (even at the end of a sentence before pause) in what is taken to be an ellipsis.[17] An attempt is here made to group the examples according to these headings, but in several instances two interpretations are possible. For example, **ạ péé nɛ́ velóo** could mean either 'he is returning with (the) bicycle ' or 'he is returning on the bicycle.'

(a) Accompaniment:

gam guram nɛà ndɛ́ wa '(the) whirlwind took them off' (= 'went with them')
sí nɛ́ ŋma kam hó wa 'take some food to them' (= 'return with some food')
ạ$_1$ péé$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_4$ 'he$_1$ was returning$_2$ with$_3$ (it) on (the) path$_4$'
sí ʔdoŋ nɛ́ wen hám 'answer me' (= 'come back with a word to me')

(b) Instrument:

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ péé$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ tịị$_5$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ returned$_3$ on$_4$ a canoe$_5$'
ạ$_1$ kpó$_2$ nɛ́ ŋmaá$_3$ 'he$_1$ tied$_2$ (them) together$_3$'
ɛ́k$_1$ tɛ-mɛ́ nɛ́$_2$ te$_3$ 'lean$_1$ against$_2$ a tree$_3$'
am$_1$ kíʔdí$_2$ ŋma mɔ$_3$ sɛ́ tɛ$_4$ mɛ$_5$ dụ́ŋ$_6$ nɛ́$_7$ 'I'm$_1$ looking for$_2$ something$_3$ so that$_4$ you$_5$ (can) sit$_6$ on$_7$ (it)'

(c) Object:

ạ$_1$ hɛ́$_2$ gèʔda$_3$ wen$_4$-́dɛ$_5$ nɛ́$_6$ kam$_7$ 'she$_1$ buys$_2$ manioc$_3$ to$_4$ make$_5$ (it) into$_6$ food$_7$'
ạ́$_1$ dɛá$_2$ kam$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ geʔda$_5$ 'she$_1$ made$_2$ (the) food$_3$ out of$_4$ manioc$_5$'
wesé$_1$ am tọ́$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ '(it's the) sun$_1$ I'm talking$_2$ about$_3$'
fara sạ́ nɛ́ wesè kɔ́ vạdradíi 'the day dawned into Friday'
ịí$_1$ dɛá$_2$ tɛ-ɛ̣́$_3$ nɛ$_4$ wéey$_5$ 'that one$_1$ made$_2$ himself$_3$ into$_4$ a man$_5$ (that is, acted as a man)'
ạ$_1$ ró$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ ŋma gạ́sá$_4$ te$_5$ 'he$_1$ threw$_2$ (it) against$_3$ a large$_4$ tree$_5$'

(d) Location:

sáá mɔ$_1$ yóó$_2$ kɛ̣́ ɛ̣́ nɛ$_3$ kạ́-tɛ$_4$ 'Sáá-mɔ$_1$ stood$_2$ to$_3$ (the) side$_4$'
wa$_1$ yá$_2$ nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-búki$_3$ 'they$_1$ were$_2$ downwind$_3$'
go$_1$ sí ʔdoŋ nɛ́ geʔde-ró 'and (he) backed up'
wa$_1$ bá$_2$ dɔ̣́$_3$ nɛ́ zu$_4$-mɛ́$_5$ 'they$_1$ take$_2$ beer and pass you up' (= 'take beer$_3$ on your$_5$ head$_4$')

350. Unique morphemes. Only for the sake of convenience are the unique morphemes included under one heading, for they do not comprise a class in themselves. There are four unique morphemes, or classes of morphemes, since one class consists of several morphs. These are the following: the stative **ạ** (351), the copula **nɛ́** (352), the quotative verb (353), and **ʔbo** (354).

351. Stative. The stative consists of one morpheme, a̧ (infrequently varying with ɛ̧). In form it is identical with the 3S low-tone pronoun, but because the function and distributions of the pronouns are so much different from that of the stative, I choose to separate them. Because of the existence of the alternant form ɛ̧, one might be able to make a case for its derivation from the substitute ɛ̧ɛ́. The meaning of the stative is roughly 'to have existence, to be,' and therefore resembles that of French "voici" and "voilà." The stative never occurs alone; it always occurs in construction either with a substantive expression or with a clause in a unique type of equational sentence.

The stative only rarely occurs in the simple form a̧. It occurs, in fact, only once in the corpus: mí a̧. 'Here I am.' A little more frequent is the form á̧a:

mɔ á̧a 'Here's the thing'
mɛ́ nɛ mɛ bɛ̧á$_1$ tom$_2$ zaŋ-rɛ́$_3$ ʔdhɛ́ɛ$_4$ á̧a 'There you are who refused$_1$ to work$_2$ in the village$_3$ so much$_4$'
wí nɔ́ɔ$_1$ ndɛi$_2$ ndɔà$_3$ kó kóm$_4$, só kó$_5$ bém kóm$_6$ feá$_7$ á̧a wa 'you$_1$ who$_2$ violated$_3$ my wife$_4$ so that$_5$ my child$_6$ died$_7$, there you are!'

The vast majority of the occurrences of the stative is characterized by the presence of the postclitic {-i}, which, however, occurs with a̧ only with low tone. (For discussion of the postclitic, see 220.) The use of the stative is so frequent in the language, and, from our western, non-African point of view, so unpredictable in many cases, that a large number of examples is justified:

mɔí a̧i. 'That's right.'
mɔ kɔ́m a̧i. 'It's my thing.'
goʔdhó-wen$_1$-́ba$_2$ ŋmaá$_3$ kó$_4$ wéey$_5$ ín kóo$_6$ tɛ-́wesé$_7$ kó$_8$ ó sɔ́káí$_9$ kɛ́ rɛ́$_{10}$ tɛ-tíi a̧i$_{11}$ 'That's$_{11}$ (the) full account$_1$ of taking$_2$ each other$_3$ (in marriage) of$_4$ men$_5$ and women$_6$ in the days$_7$ of$_8$ our$_{10}$ elders$_9$.'
ʔbay$_1$ mɔ-́kɔfɛ$_2$ kó$_3$ ó tú̧ wí-rɛ́$_4$ nɛ dɛ́i$_5$ a̧i$_6$. 'These are$_6$ (the) only$_1$ in-law obligations$_2$ of$_3$ (the) black people$_4$ (that is, Africans) which they perform$_5$.'
gó$_1$ mɔ$_2$ nɛ ó wéey$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ gaza$_5$ wenáai$_2$ a̧i$_6$. 'So$_1$ that's$_6$ (the) reason$_2$ why men$_3$ went$_4$ to be circumcised$_5$.'
kpásá$_1$ mɔ$_2$-wéey$_3$ ɛ̧i$_4$, wéey$_5$ á̧i$_6$!! 'That's$_4$ a real$_1$ manly$_3$ thing$_2$, that's$_6$ a man$_5$!'
wa$_1$ gɔ́m$_2$ saʔde$_3$-́bɔ kó dila$_4$ há a̧$_5$ ɛ̧i. 'They$_1$ cut$_2$ (the) lion's$_4$ meat$_3$ for him$_5$.'
mbí ye$_1$, dila$_2$ baá$_3$ a̧$_4$ a̧i. 'I said$_1$, "(the) lion$_2$ got$_3$ him$_4$".'
rɔ́k ʔdɛ́ a̧i$_1$, gɛ$_2$ rɛ sí kɛ́ rɛ́$_3$. 'It's all right$_1$, so$_2$ let's go$_3$.'
ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ kúú$_3$ há$_4$ sɛn-́fara$_5$-́saʔde$_6$ mɛí$_7$ a̧i. 'And$_1$ we$_2$ arose$_3$ from$_4$ (the) place$_5$ of (the) animal$_6$ there$_7$.'
go sá ye ge, gbɛlɛk a̧i. 'So (they) call (it) a gbɛlɛk.'
rɛmà$_1$ má̧ á̧ pi̧$_2$ gam guram$_3$ a̧i. 'It was all right (that is, it was time)$_1$ for him to cast in$_2$ (the) whirlwind$_3$.'

352. Copula. The word nɛ́ is the only member of this class.[18] Although it resembles the preposition nɛ́ in several respects, it is to be distinguished

from it for the following reasons: (1) When it is followed by pronouns, these occur in their basic form, and only the tone of nɛ́ undergoes a regular morphophonemic change of high to low when followed by a high tone.[19] (2) It has no overt lexical meaning but signals identification of or equation with the subject. (3) It is followed only and always by a substantive with which it is in construction. (4) It may be preceded by a pause that marks the beginning of an utterance. In other words, it may occur in a construction that constitutes a secondary clause. The copula seems to occur exclusively with the verbs ɔ and ya, the singular and plural verbs 'to be.'[20] When the morpheme nɛ́ follows other verbs, it seems possible to identify it with the preposition, but there remain certain doubtful cases. For example:

wa$_1$ yɔ̨́ŋ$_2$ nɛ ŋgáa$_3$ 'they$_1$ eat$_2$ (it) hard$_3$'
ą$_1$ yɔ̨́ŋ$_2$ nɛ́ biri$_3$ 'he$_1$ eats$_2$ like a baboon$_3$'
ą́$_1$ koà$_2$ béem$_3$ nɛ bé$_4$wéey$_5$ 'she$_1$ bore$_2$ a male-child$_8$' (= 'child$_3$ nɛ child$_4$ man$_5$')
hɔá$_1$ nɛ búu$_2$ '(it) came out$_1$ white$_2$'

Other examples follow:

wa$_1$ yá$_2$ nɛ wéey$_3$ 'they$_1$ are$_2$ men$_3$'
ɔ́$_1$ nɛ́ ŋma$_2$ bé-te$_3$ 'it's$_1$ a certain$_2$ small tree$_3$'
téa$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ nɛ búu$_3$ 'the tree$_1$ is$_2$ white$_3$'
ɔ́$_1$ nɛ́ wen$_2$-́tɛ$_3$ sɛn-́tɛ-ré$_4$ kó rɔ́$_5$ na$_6$ '(she said it) was$_1$ necessary$_2$ to come$_3$ here$_6$ to her$_5$ house$_4$'
boá$_1$ nɛ ó mboró$_2$ 'if (they) were$_1$ red monkeys$_2$'
wa dɛá bisa$_1$ nɛ́ gba túrú-gaza$_2$ kó wa$_3$ nɛ́ saa ná 'they got all dressed up$_1$ in their$_3$ circumcision clothes$_2$' (where nɛ́ saa ná 'it's no joke,' a common expression, is used as an intensifier)
ture$_1$ nɛ́ ząra ám$_2$ dɔà$_3$ hó$_4$ wa$_5$ '(this) morning$_1$ (it was) ząra (a ctn. tuberous root) which I$_2$ roasted$_3$ for$_4$ them$_5$'
bó$_1$ ɔ zaŋáa$_2$ nɛ mbɛ́tɛ$_3$ 'if (he) was$_1$ inside$_2$ indeed$_3$'
nɛ$_1$ ʔbay$_2$ mɔ$_3$ kpém$_4$ nɛ́ nzapá$_5$ 'and$_1$ just$_2$ one$_4$ thing$_3$—it's God$_5$'
mí nɛ́ hɔ tía 'I'm the first-born'

353. Quotative verb (QV) gende gá ye ge. The QV is so called because it shares with verbs the privilege of occurring after substantive expressions in a subject-predicate construction as well as that of occurring after connectives where clauses are expected. It is called "quotative" because it often functions as a verb of saying. What follows need not be a direct quotation. In any case, the distinction between direct reference, by the use of the explicit pronouns (382.12), and indirect reference is not carefully maintained. The QV shall be referred to in the singular for the sake of convenience, for although in its longest form it functions as a polymorphemic word, it actually occurs in several forms, not all of which have the same privileges of occurrence.[21] It is because of this syntactic segmentation that I consider the QV to be composed of several morphemes although I cannot attribute lexical meanings to them individually. There is some indication that different "words" are involved, but, because of the lack of control of the semantic distinctions, rigid differentiations seem hazardous at this point. The full list is given below, it being understood that wherever ye is not followed by ge, it can alternate in

rapid speech with the suffixal form -y, which is bound to any word preceding it:[22]

gende gá ye ge
gende gá ye
ye ge
ye
gende gá
gá

353.1. gende gá ye ge introduces phrases or clauses with the meaning of communicated information; this information may be explicit in a verb used in the preceding linguistic context (such as, tɔ̨ 'to say,' ak 'ask,' sa 'to call,' usi 'to show,' sar- sék 'to think,' etc.) or implicit in the context. It occurs in long and short forms, the distributions of which are described in the following paragraphs. They occur between clauses or are preceded by a substantive expression which functions as the subject, the whole of which means 'so and so says.' Where the subject is not explicitly stated, it is usually the one previously identified, but it may be another one in the general context.

353.11. Long forms. These are gende gá ye ge, gende gá ye, and gende gáy, all of which are mutually substitutable. The long form has the following characteristics: (1) it is used following verbs whose meaning might be described as 'explicit communication' (already listed above, and contrasted with those for the short form below); (2) it never follows either another connective or a pronoun; (3) it never precedes the final interrogative particle ndé. For example:

ą$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ há$_3$ gbɛ̨rɛ́, gende gá ye ge, kínɛɛ$_4$ mɛ$_5$ yóó$_6$ kó mɛ́ dį́yɛ$_7$. 'He$_1$ said$_2$ to$_3$ Lizard, "Now$_4$ you$_5$ stand$_6$ here$_7$."'

timɔtée dųŋ tɔ̨́ wen$_1$ ínaa$_2$, gende gá ye$_3$, ge$_4$ a mɛ$_5$ yú yui$_6$ wenáá ge nde. 'Timothy was talking$_1$ with him$_2$, saying$_3$, "Why$_4$ are you$_5$ running$_6$?"'

mise$_1$ bám$_2$ é$_3$ tí$_4$ gende gá ye$_5$ ɛrɛ$_6$ nɛ́$_7$. 'Monsieur$_1$ took me$_2$ (and) put$_3$ (me in) front,$_4$ saying,$_5$ "Let's$_6$ go$_7$."'

mbí$_1$ ye$_2$ mise$_3$ mɛ ndɔ́raa$_4$ gende gá ye$_5$ é$_6$ hɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_7$ zɔ́kaa$_8$ są́k$_9$ sɛ́$_{10}$ 'I$_1$ said$_2$, "Monsieur$_3$, shoot him$_4$," (and he answered) saying$_5$, "Let$_6$ me$_7$ see him$_8$ well$_9$ first$_{10}$."'

go$_1$ bó$_2$ zɔk$_3$ gɔ̨́y$_4$, gende gá ye$_5$ dé?dé$_6$ zɔ́ŋá$_7$ kó aáyɛ$_8$ nɔ́ɔ wá 'so$_1$ when$_2$ (they) see$_3$ (her) thus$_4$, (they respond) saying$_5$, "(Look at) what's-his-name's$_8$ attractive$_6$ daughter$_7$"'

353.12. Short forms. These are ye ge or ye.[23] The short form has the following characteristics that distinguish it from the long form: (1) in addition to being used with the verbs of "explicit information," it is used with certain verbs of "implicit information" (e.g., wer- 'to make a noise, sound like, go,' įŋ 'to know,' pį ér- 'to make a gesture with the hand,' etc.); (2) it may follow the connectives gó and á as well as pronouns; (3) it may precede the final interrogative particle ndé. The meaning of ye ge in negative equational sentences is equivalence or significance. For example:

nɛ$_1$ tɛ́ nɛ́$_2$ há$_3$ ą$_4$, gá ye$_5$ bá$_6$ tą$_7$ ą dɛ́$_8$ 'and$_1$ (they) bring$_2$ (it) to$_3$ her$_4$, saying$_5$, "Take$_6$ (it) and$_7$ make$_8$ . . . "'

dila$_1$ tɛá$_2$, go$_3$ ákaa$_4$, ák$_5$ gbęrɛ́, gáy$_6$ gbęrɛ̀ ndé nɛ, mɛ́$_7$ gbɛá$_8$ saʔde$_9$ '(the) Lion$_1$ came$_2$ and$_3$ asked him$_4$, (that is) asked$_5$ Lizard, saying$_6$, "Say, Lizard, you$_7$ killed$_8$ an animal$_9$ . . . "'

wa$_1$ rį́k$_2$ wa$_3$, gá ye$_4$ há ró$_5$ dák$_6$ kéey$_7$ há zaŋ-́wa$_8$ 'they$_1$ whip$_2$ them$_3$, saying$_4$, "Let's$_5$ take$_6$ (the) fear$_7$ out of them$_8$"'

go$_1$ sá$_2$ gáy daʔdoŋ 'and$_1$ (they) call$_2$ (it) a "daʔdoŋ"'

bó$_1$ tǫ$_2$ ye ge dila$_3$ gǫ́y$_4$ 'when$_1$ (he) said$_2$ "lion"$_3$ like this$_4$'

ŋma yín-zoro$_1$ wéé ye ge$_2$ ʔbuturu 'one fish's name$_1$ is$_2$ ʔbuturu'

mɔ nɛ$_1$ ó sɔ́kái$_2$ ye ge$_3$ bé-wéey$_4$ nɛ́ gaza$_5$ wenáa sɛ́ wái '(the) reason$_1$ the elders$_2$ say$_3$ that young men$_4$ should be circumcised$_5$ . . . '

mɛ́$_1$ ye$_2$ ę́$_3$ nɛ ę$_3$ ɔ́$_4$ nɛ wí-dɛ$_5$ yǫ́ná$_6$ 'you$_1$ say$_2$, "I$_3$ am$_4$ a producer$_5$ of food$_6$"'

mbí$_1$ ye$_2$, dila$_3$ baá$_4$ ą$_5$ 'I$_1$ said$_2$, "A lion$_3$ got$_4$ him$_5$"'

ʔdoŋ-wáá kɛ́ rɛ́ ín mɛ́ ye ge ndé 'what is our relationship with each other?' (= 'way of us with you what?')

mɔ ye ge ndé 'what's the affair'

353.2. gende gá introduces clauses or phrases with the meaning 'resulting in' or 'means,' but often when it occurs between clauses it is best left untranslated. Although it shares many of the same environments with gende gá ye ge, it is distinguished from the latter by the following characteristics: (1) it rarely precedes quotations; (2) it very frequently follows clauses with the auxiliary bo; (3) it can follow the connective nɛ (as well as the borrowing from French abę < 'eh bien'). (There is also a form gá which seems to be an abbreviated form of gende gá.)

bóm$_1$ gam tɛɛ́m$_2$ wen kó$_3$ nɛ́m ba$_4$ te$_5$, gende gá$_6$, ą́ hɔà$_7$ ʔbéé$_8$ 'when I$_1$ turned around$_2$ to$_3$ climb up$_4$ a tree$_5$, well$_6$, it had already$_8$ appeared$_7$'

wan gbíya dų́ŋ$_1$ ínaa$_2$, gende gá$_3$ wá$_4$ ʔdafá$_5$ gam guram$_6$ '(the) master of (the) gbíya was$_1$ with him$_2$, in other words$_3$, they$_4$ had already prepared$_5$ (the) whirlwind$_6$'

ɛrɛ$_1$ kǫ́$_2$ wóó mise gbɛá$_3$ fɔrɔ$_4$, gǫ́y gende gá$_5$ wi$_6$ dɛ́ saa wéndé 'we$_1$ yelled$_2$, "Hurrah, Monsieur has killed$_3$ an elephant$_4$," so then$_5$ (he said), "Are you$_6$ happy?"'

saʔde$_1$ dɛá taa$_2$ ʔbɔ, gende gá$_3$ kusi$_4$ 'there were three$_2$ more animals$_1$ (dead), making$_3$ nine$_4$'

353.3. gá occurs between clauses as well as initial in a clause that may or may not be preceded by a clause (but is preceded by someone else's speech). The lexical meaning is minimal, and it seems to be equivalent in meaning with the connective {go}. Perhaps, because of this resemblance, the tone of gá is sometimes replaced by low tone before high tone, following the pattern for {go}. For example:

bą́$_1$ ą́$_2$ zɔkɔ́m$_3$ gá$_4$ mí$_5$ ą́a$_6$ 'when$_1$ he$_2$ saw me$_3$, (he) said$_4$, "Here$_6$ I$_5$ (am)"'

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ gbǫ$_3$ sɛn-tɛ-́fara$_4$ ɔi$_5$ mɛ, ga mbóro$_6$ dɛá 'when$_1$ we$_2$ had arrived$_3$ at the place$_4$ to sleep$_5$, it was already evening$_6$'

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ zɔk$_3$ gá ɛ́rɛ́$_4$ ɔɔ tɛ́$_5$ gɔ́ɔ$_6$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ looked$_3$, here$_6$ we$_4$ were coming$_5$'

gom$_1$ mámaa$_2$ go$_3$ mbí$_4$ ye$_5$, óóʔ, gá mɛ́$_6$ dɛà$_7$ ré ge$_8$ 'and I$_1$ laughed at him$_2$, and$_3$ I$_4$ said$_5$, "Oh, so what$_8$ did you$_6$ do$_7$ . . . ?"'

354. The morpheme ʔbo is a very common constituent in the names of villages or any such similar recognized agglomerations of habitual sleeping quarters. It is included in this section rather than with the bound morphemes because its vowel neither assimilates to a nasalized vowel that follows it nor is in harmony with a following oral vowel. In other words, there is juncture between ʔbo and the following segment. In the case of ʔbo oro and ʔbo ay however there is never an occurrence of the glottal stop: they are always pronounced [ʔbooro] and [ʔboay].

An extensive study of the place names of the Bossangoa Sous-Préfecture was not made, but even my limited data reveal a somewhat diversified environment for ʔbo. The following occurred: (1) with nouns (ʔbo dila 'lion village,' ʔbo sąk 'snare village,' ʔbo toró 'dog village'); (2) with noun phrases (ʔbo ndɔŋgɔ-́fiyo 'village of the last remaining bit of fetish,' ʔbo wan-súmá 'village of the elder of the súmá'); with noun having -́V (ʔbo káam 'village of food' < kam); with a temporal substitute (ʔbo kínɛ 'village of now'); with a verb phrase (ʔbo ŋma te 'step-on-tree village'); with a clause (ʔbo kpé mɔ 'shut the thing village').

Many of the village names I collected, however, resisted attempts at etymologization. In these instances ʔbo is followed by dead morphs.

360. Adjectives. Adjectives are those words which stand in construction with substantives in endocentric substantive phrases. They comprise two classes, namely, preposed and postposed adjectives, the second of which is represented by only two members. The preposed adjectives are further distinguished by the fact that some can function as substantives with the determinant suffix (213.1) while others can not. Other characteristics and distinctions are discussed in the following paragraphs.

361. Preposed adjectives. These are distinguished by the fact that some (Class A) never function as substantives and that others (Class B) do.[24]

361.1. Class A adjectives. This class is represented by only four members, viz. ʔbay 'only, even, just,' gba 'big, real,' ŋma 'some,' and ó 'plural marker.'

ʔbay 'even, just, also.'[25]

gó ʔbay mɔ$_1$ kpém$_2$ ʔmɔ́n nɛ dɔ́á$_3$ ŋmaá$_4$ 'and just one$_2$ single thing$_1$, namely, keeping things from$_3$ one another$_4$'

ʔbay mɔ$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ nɛ nzapá$_3$ dɛá$_4$ ín$_5$ wa$_6$, 'this$_2$ very thing$_1$ which God$_3$ did$_4$ for$_5$ them$_6$'

fey$_1$ gan yú$_2$ mɔ$_3$ ná, gó ʔbay mundú$_4$ nɛ fey bá$_5$ 'death$_1$ doesn't run away$_2$ from anything$_3$, and death takes$_5$ even a white person$_4$'

ʔbay zɛ$_1$ dɛá$_2$, nɛ ʔmɔná$_3$, go dų́ŋ ą hé kɔ̨wá$_4$ 'even after night$_1$ comes$_2$, (it) continues$_3$ to cry$_4$'

gba 'big, real.' This adjective generally serves to distinguish one class of objects from another rather than to distinguish between two objects (as would be the case with bé and gą́sá in bé-mɔ and gą́sá mɔ 'little thing' and 'big thing' respectively). Such constructions as the following are therefore rare: tǫ wen nɛ́ gba gɛ́ɛ́ 'speak loudly' and tǫ wen nɛ bɛ́-gɛ́ɛ́ 'speak softly.' In fact, phrases containing the adjective gba are restricted in their meaning to certain referents. For example, whereas duwa is the word for 'goat,' gba duwa is not a 'big goat' nor even a 'real goat,' but a 'sheep.' In a sense there is greater specificity with this adjective. Almost all occurrences of gba are with nouns, but the following two phrases occur in the data, the first being a nominalized adjective (itself being derived from a verb form) and the second being a descriptive adverb: gba ʔdéŋgáa 'a real big one' (< ʔdeŋgi 'to be big'), gba yaŋ ʔdaŋ (or, yaŋ ʔdaŋ) 'mumps.' For example:

gba dąy 'wound which covers up without healing properly' (dąy 'wound')
gba sǫ, in kam-́gba sǫ 'food, memorial feast,' gba gba sǫ 'the great spirit' (sǫ 'spirit, shade')
gba geʔda 'certain manioc which bears one year after being planted' (geʔda 'manioc')
gba tuwa 'house kept empty for guests' (tuwa 'house')
gba wɔ 'famine' (wɔ 'hunger')
gba zawa 'ground nut: Voandzeia subterranea' (zawa 'peanut')

ŋma 'a, some, certain, few' (that is, an item or class of items representative of a larger group of the same):

ŋma$_1$ wí-ré$_2$ yǫ́ŋ$_3$ wárá$_4$ ré$_5$? 'Does a$_1$ person$_2$ eat$_3$ (the) village$_5$-fruit$_4$?'
tɛ́m$_1$ kpa$_2$ ŋma kóo$_3$ íye$_4$ 'where$_4$ should I$_1$ find$_2$ a wife$_3$?'
ŋma wen$_1$ bó ná$_2$ 'there's no$_2$ (further) word$_1$'
gan$_1$ nɛ́m$_2$ pį$_3$ ŋma$_4$ saʔdeí$_5$ nu kpém ná$_1$ 'I'm$_2$ not$_1$ going$_2$ to throw down$_3$ any$_4$ (of) the meat$_5$'

ó 'plural adjective.' This adjective is an optional marker of plurality.[26] (Number, in fact, is an obligatory category only in some of the pronouns and verbs.) The following comments describe its use: (1) Where plurality is implied or overtly signalled in the linguistic forms (e.g. wa 'they,' sɔ́n 'all,' dęrá 'many'), it seems only to emphasize the fact of plurality. This is especially true with inanimate objects which generally do not take the plural adjective. For example, tɛ́ nɛ́ wara could mean 'bring (a) spade' or '(the) spades.' (2) It is used to introduce the fact of plurality which is implied in a substantive phrase containing the preposition {ín} 'with, and.' (3) It is occasionally used with personal names and kinship terms to indicate not plurality but respect (apparently as a parallel to the use of the plural pronouns for the same purpose). For example:

tɛ-́kǫ-ríp$_1$ ó tų́$_2$ wí-ré$_3$ 'in (the) eyes$_1$ of black$_2$ people$_3$'
ó dęrá$_1$ wí-ré$_2$ '(the) crowd$_1$ of people$_2$'
bɔlɔ-nɔ́ŋ ó saʔde 'tracks of the animals'
ó mɔ-́dɛ zɔ́ŋá 'things with which girls get dressed up'
ó wa nɔ́ɔ nɛ gan zéé tɛ-rò nái 'those who don't obey'
ó gbęrɛ́ ín dila, a wa yáá 'Lizard and (the) Lion were strolling about'
ó ŋgɔzɔŋ kíí$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ 'Ngɔzɔŋ was looking for$_1$ us$_2$ (and) coming$_3$'

ó ʔdamba$_1$ dɛà$_2$ ʔnáŋ$_3$ kosára$_4$ ín rɛ́$_5$ ʔdɛ́$_6$ '(the) people from the village
of Damba$_1$ did$_2$ a very$_6$ bad$_3$ thing$_4$ to us$_5$'

361.2. Class B adjectives. The members of this class can function as substantives when they have the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1). They are distinguished by the fact that some are not derivable from any other word class (and are therefore included in a "closed class") whereas others are derivable from other word classes (and are included in an "open class").

361.21. Closed class adjectives. These are the following: bú 'white,' bura 'very large,' dé 'good,' déʔdé 'good,' mbé 'new,' and sóó 'small.' For example:

bú záan 'white clouds'
bura kúŋmgbá 'a very large kúŋmgbá basket'
dé kóo 'a good woman'
déʔdé kóo ín ʔnáŋ kóo 'good and bad women'
ą kíʔdí mbé fiyo 'he looks for another fetish'
sóó mųu-́saʔde fįí 'just a little bit of meat'
sóó naa 'maternal aunt' (= 'little mother')

361.22. Open class adjectives. These are adjectives which are derived from other word classes. Another description would exclude these from the adjective class and describe their "adjectival" use under syntax. Substantives and verbs can function as adjectives.

361.221. Adjectives from substantives. Substantives are said to function as adjectives when they occur in construction with and as attributes to another substantive. (This function contrasts with that one where the first substantive is head of a following substantival attribute and where the morpheme {-́} is present.) The examples are few; they are underlined below:

ám$_1$ hɛà$_2$ ą́$_3$ velóo$_4$ kɔ́m$_5$ 'I$_1$ sold$_2$ my$_5$ old$_3$ (former) bicycle$_4$,' compare
velóo kɔ́m$_1$ dɛà$_2$ ą́$_3$ ʔdɛ́$_4$ 'my bicycle$_1$ has gotten$_2$ very$_4$ old$_3$'
á mɛ́ tam$_1$ ndíŋ$_2$ mɔ$_3$ ná$_4$ 'don't$_4$ touch$_1$ dirty$_2$ things$_3$,' compare fɔ́ɔ́$_1$
ndíiŋ$_2$ há sɛnɛ́$_3$ 'wash$_1$ (the) dirt$_2$ out of it$_3$'
ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ gboá$_2$ nɛ kpém wesé$_3$ 'we$_1$ arrived$_2$ on the same day$_3$ (we went),'
compare wesé kpém 'one day'

361.222. Adjectives from verbs. High tone perfective and imperfective verbs function as adjectives with the former being the more productive of the two. The perfective verbs can very often be translated by an English participial form, whose function, in fact, they parallel. The imperfective forms have perfective counterparts: the first describes what an object is by its nature; the second describes what an object is as a result of some event or process.

(a) Perfective adjectives:
ó dę́rá wí-ré$_1$ sɔ́n$_2$ 'all$_2$ (the) people$_1$' < dęr- 'to be numerous'
gbę́á máŋgo 'ripe mango' < gbę 'to be red, ripe'
ʔnáŋá velóo 'ruined bicycle, wreck of a bicycle' < ʔnaŋ 'to ruin, wreck'
áyá bere$_1$ kóo$_2$ 'woman$_2$ (with) fallen breasts$_1$, an old woman' < 'to
sprinkle, fall'

(b) Imperfective adjectives:
gbɛ́ŋ fara 'hot place' < gbɛŋ 'to be hot'
gbɛ̨́ mɔ 'red thing'
ʔnáŋ mɔ 'bad thing'

362. Postposed adjectives. There are only two, both of which function as some kind of demonstrative: ná and nɔ́ɔ.

362.1. ná hardly ever has an explicit translation in English, a fact illustrated by the following examples.[27] Except for the two expressions of time (first two examples), it is used exclusively in substantive phrases which themselves are used in quoted statements either in direct address to call someone's attention (by far the most common use) or in emphasizing the subject (of a sentence) with whom the speaker has some personal involvement (only one example, the last):
báraa įì ná mɛi 'the dry season before last'
tíyɛɛ įì ná mɛ 'two days before yesterday'
mise$_1$ tɔ̨́ ye$_2$, mí ná$_3$, nɛ ge ndé$_4$. 'Monsieur$_1$ said$_2$ (to me), "Say$_3$, what's that$_4$?"'
ą$_1$ tɔ̨́ ye$_2$, ɛ́rɛ́ ná$_3$, nɛ ɛ̨́$_4$ gbɛá$_5$ saʔde$_6$. 'He$_1$ said$_2$ (to us), "Hey you$_3$, I$_4$ killed$_5$ an animal$_6$."'
foo$_1$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_2$ ná ndé á baá zaŋ$_3$ wá '(he said), "My$_2$ mother-in-law$_1$ has become pregnant$_3$"'
nɛm tɔ̨́ ye, mise ná nɛ 'and I said, "Hey Monsieur . . . "'

362.2. nɔ́ɔ (sometimes nɔ́ʔɔ́) 'this' does not really contrast in meaning with any of the substitutes which mean either 'this' or 'that' (382.2), and in fact the information this word carries is sometimes negligible.[28] For example:
ą$_1$ mɔ̨́y$_2$ tįi$_3$-́wa$_4$ nɔ́ɔ gɔ́ɔ 'he$_1$ gathered$_2$ their$_4$ tails$_3$ together'
óró$_1$ laa gata nɔ́ʔɔ́$_2$ mɛ gɔ́ɔi$_3$ gá$_1$ 'like$_1$ this$_2$ Laa-gata over there$_3$'
gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ gbó$_3$ sɛn-tɛ-́na nɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ arrived$_3$ here$_4$'
mɛ́$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ nɛ mɛ bɛ̨́$_3$ mbɔra$_4$ 'you$_1$ here$_2$ who reject$_3$ instructions$_4$'

370. Adverbs. Adverbs are those words which enter in construction with verbs. They are comprised of two classes, namely, the negative marker (371) and the descriptive adverbs (372).

371. The negative marker consists of the morphemes ná or (gan) . . . ná (where the dots indicate a discontinuous distribution and the parentheses an optional occurrence) whose distribution is for the most part describable in terms of the constructions with which they occur; these are discussed in the following paragraphs. The element gan also occurs sometimes as gɛn, especially before 3S ą 'he, she' and gą before 1P rɛ 'we.'

371.1. gan . . . ná occurs in both simple and compound sentences but not in constructions where only ná can occur. gan . . . ná is the mark of a negated sentence whereas ná is both that and also the mark of a negated verb expression. The position of gan is immediately preceding the verbal predicate except when the subject is a pronoun, in which case it precedes the pronoun. (Although no examples occurred in the texts, negative sentences including a negated verb expression do occur in the language. In other words, the following can occur: gan . . . [. . . ná] ná, where brackets indicate included verb expression.) Several sentences without gan but similar to if not identical with those having gan occur in the corpus, but they are insufficient to permit analysis. It is not uncommon for ná to be (probably inadvertently) left off in a long, involved sentence with several included clauses. For example:

ŋma mɔ kɛ́ rɛ́ wen-́dɛ wenáa gan bó ná 'there was nothing we could do about it' (= 'some thing of us to do about it is not')

gan$_1$ am$_2$ yɔ̨ŋ$_3$ mɔ$_4$ rɔy rɔy$_5$ ná$_1$ 'I$_2$ didn't$_1$ eat$_3$ things$_4$ indiscriminately$_5$'

gan$_1$ nɛá$_2$ ha$_3$ dɛ́á saa$_4$ hɛ́ rɛ́$_5$ kpém$_6$ ná$_1$ '(it) would$_2$ not$_1$ have$_2$ given$_3$ us$_5$ any pleasure$_4$ whatsoever$_6$'

ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán nzapà 'there's nothing too strong for God' (= 'some thing is strong surpasses God not')

gan$_1$ ą$_2$ há$_3$ ri$_4$ hó wa$_5$ dɔ́k$_6$ wen-́mɔ$_7$ ndɛ wa$_8$ há$_9$ hą́ ą$_{10}$ tą ą há ri hó wa wen nɔ́áai$_{11}$ ná$_1$ 'he$_2$ did not$_1$ give$_3$ them$_5$ much$_6$ water$_4$ for (the) things$_7$ they$_8$ gave$_9$ him$_{10}$ for which he was to give them water to drink$_{11}$' (that is, he gave them less water than what they 'paid' for)

gan$_1$ bó$_2$ nɛ mí$_3$ a nɛ́m$_4$ usi$_5$ mbɛ́tí hó wa ná$_1$ '(it) is$_2$ not$_1$ I$_3$ who will$_4$ teach$_5$ them to read' (= 'show paper to them')

371.2. ná occurs in the following environments as well as in those already described for gan . . . ná. Its position is last in a verb phrase, and in a sentence it is followed only by the final particles. It occurs not only with various types of verb phrases, but also with certain secondary sentence types. These are described below.

371.21. ná occurs in negated directives: á mɛ́ nɛ ná 'don't go'; á mɛ́ nɛ$_1$ mɛ yoo$_2$ zu-́wa$_3$ ná 'don't go$_1$ (and) stand$_2$ over them$_3$'

371.22. ná occurs in verb phrases following the auxiliaries bo and nɛ when the meaning doubt or supposition is implied.

wí-ré$_1$ bó$_2$ nɛ gaza$_3$ ná 'if$_2$ people$_1$ aren't circumcised$_3$'
bó$_1$ ɔ$_2$ nɛ yɔ́á mɔ$_3$ kɔ́ mɛ́$_4$ ná 'if$_1$ (it) should not be$_2$ your$_4$ fault$_3$'
nɛ́$_1$ mɛ́$_2$ zįm mɔ$_3$ ná 'if$_1$ you$_2$ should not observe the taboos$_3$'

371.23. ná occurs in dependent clauses:

tɛ$_1$ ri$_2$ fók$_3$ láŋgí$_4$ ná 'so that$_1$ (the) water$_2$ wouldn't flow$_3$ (and) pass$_4$ on'
wen há$_1$ ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́$_2$ dɛ́$_3$ mɛ́$_4$ ná 'so that$_1$ leprosy$_2$ wouldn't afflict$_3$ you$_4$'
wa$_1$ bɛ̨́$_2$ mɔ$_3$ ndɛ wa$_4$ zɔ́ŋ$_5$ nái 'they$_1$ reject$_2$ the thing$_3$ which they$_4$ don't see$_5$'; compare gan wa bɛ̨́ mɔ ndɛ wa zɔ́ŋ nɛ ríp$_1$-ró$_2$ ná 'they don't reject the thing which they see with their$_2$ eyes$_1$'

371.24. ná occurs in certain rhetorical questions. In some (following sɛ́ 'then,' and with ɔ 'to be' when it occurs with the affix -́V) there is no question marker in the sentence. In questions whose predicate is in the perfective, the question is marked by wéndé. (In a simple predication implying the noncompletion of an act, the perfective is otherwise not used.) For example:

mɛ ɔ́ kó mɛ́ nɛ kóo ɔ́ɔ ná 'aren't you a woman?' (said in derision)
nɛi gáy$_1$ mɔ$_2$ ʔdɔɔ-́mɔi$_3$ sɛ́ ná 'and shouldn't you scare$_1$ things$_2$ (that is, animals and birds) from under the things$_3$ (that is, plants)?'

wí-ré$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$, á ndɔà$_3$ kó$_4$ ró$_5$ só kó$_6$ bém$_7$ kó ró feá$_8$ go$_9$ ró nɛá$_{10}$ biróai$_{11}$
ná wéndé '(they said), "Didn't this$_2$ person$_1$ outrage$_3$ our$_5$ woman$_4$ so that$_6$ our child$_7$ died$_8$ and$_9$ we went$_{10}$ (to) war$_{11}$?"'
tɛá$_1$ wá$_2$ gbɛ$_3$ ŋma ró kpém$_4$ wéndé gan$_5$ rííto$_6$ ná wéndé '(they said), "Wouldn't they$_2$ have come$_1$ (and) killed$_3$ one$_4$ or$_5$ two$_6$ of us?"'

371.25. ná occurs with verbless secondary sentence types: that is (a) in an equational sentence consisting of the copula and a noun phrase, and (b) following gɔ̨́y 'like this,' where the more complete form has the verb ɔ 'to be,' such as:

nɛ́ saa ná 'it's no joke'
gɔ̨́y ná 'not like this'

372. Descriptive adverbs (henceforth abbreviated as DAs) are all other adverbs except the negative adverb. They are those words which occur in construction with verbs in endocentric verb phrases and are distinguished from substantives, which also occur in this position, by the fact that they never occur with the determinant suffix and never function as subject of a predicate. Since some occur as attributes of nouns (372.12 and 411.24), two classes are distinguished; the major part of this discussion deals with the second class.

Before the description of the DAs is begun, several sentences are cited to illustrate the use of these adverbs. It should be noted that although in this section these adverbs are frequently given glosses in adjectival form, this results from the convenience of using this class of word in English and does not suggest that the DAs are adjectival in nature. As a class, they apparently can occur in clauses with any verb but the auxiliaries. It is nevertheless true that many do occur in my corpus only with ɔ 'to be.' But there are enough instances where the same DA occurs both with the verb 'to be' and also with other verbs that one can safely conclude that there is no major class-defining restriction. (See also 414.4.) In the following examples the recurrence of the initial segments is not significant; these adverbs were all chosen from a point in an alphabetic list.

nɔ́$_1$ aá$_2$ tɛ-túrú$_3$ gɔ$_4$ ɔ́$_5$ ŋmgbaʔbuu$_6$. 'Oil$_1$ spilled$_2$ on (the) cloth$_3$ so$_4$ it's$_5$ heavy$_6$.'
ą́$_1$ yɔ̨ŋà$_2$ yínaa$_3$ ŋmgbáʔdásá$_4$. 'He$_1$ gritted$_2$ his teeth$_3$ fearlessly$_4$.'
wa$_1$ zéé$_2$ ŋmgbal$_3$. 'They$_1$ hear$_2$ but don't act accordingly$_3$.'
wa$_1$ wá$_2$ mɔ, wa$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ ŋmgbeleŋ ŋmgbeleŋ$_5$. 'They$_1$ are weeding$_2$ (the plot), (and) they$_3$ are going$_4$ at it in all directions$_5$.'
wá$_1$ ʔdafá$_2$ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_3$ go$_4$ ɔ́$_5$ ŋmgbɛl$_6$. 'They$_1$ fixed$_2$ (the) path$_3$, so$_4$ (it) is$_5$ clean of weeds$_6$.'
mɛ$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ nú-gbɛ́yá$_3$ ŋmgbel$_4$. 'You$_1$ talk$_2$ (the) Gbɛya language$_3$ without making mistakes$_4$.'

372.1. Classes of descriptive adverbs. Two classes are distinguished by the fact that some DAs can occur in attribution to nouns (preposed or postposed) in endocentric noun phrases and others never do. The second class is actually represented by only one member, ʔdɛ́ 'very, a lot': búk yú ʔdɛ́ 'the wind is blowing hard,' ą tɔ̨́ wen ʔdɛ́ 'she talks a lot,' rɔ̨kà ʔdɛ́ 'it's very good.' The rest of this section deals with the preposed and postposed DAs.

372.11. Postposed DAs. This class is represented by only six members: ʔbɔ 'also,' dɔ́ka 'much, many,' gɔ́ɔ 'here,' gɔ̨́y 'in this manner,' gbáŋ 'also accompanying,' sɔ́n 'all, entirely.' In addition to being positionally distinctive from the preposed DAs, these adverbs have the following characteristics: they are short in form; they are (except for dɔ́ka) simple stems; and they are not extensively manipulated stylistically. For example:

ʔbɔ: am$_1$ mbá$_2$ mɛ́$_3$ ʔbɔ 'I$_1$ greet$_2$ you$_3$ also,' ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ tɛà$_2$ ínaa$_3$ ʔbɔ 'we$_1$ came$_2$ with him$_3$ also'

dɔ́ka: kéey dɛà rɛ́ dɔ́ka 'we were very much afraid,' zɛ́rɛ́$_1$ dɛ́ wa$_2$ dɔ́ka, go$_3$ wa fé$_4$ 'they$_2$ are sick$_1$ a lot, so$_3$ they die$_4$,' bɔnɔ-náŋ$_1$-wa$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ dɔ́ka 'there were$_3$ a lot of their$_2$ tracks$_1$'

gɔ́ɔ: sóó$_1$ tɛm$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ$_4$ gɔ́ɔ$_5$ 'so that$_1$ my body$_2$ is$_3$ without blemish$_4$ here$_5$,' mise$_1$ a dųŋ tɛ́$_2$ mɛ gɔ́ɔi$_3$ '(it's) Monsieur$_1$ coming$_2$ right over there$_3$,' go$_1$ rɔ̨́k$_2$ tɛm$_3$ gɔ́ɔi 'and$_1$ (which) pleases$_2$ me$_3$ here,' gaza$_1$ nɛ mɛ$_2$ nɛà$_3$ gɔ́ɔ '(the) circumcision rites$_1$ through which you$_2$ just passed$_3$,' ą$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ óró$_3$ ną́ ą́ nɛ$_4$ óró laa-gata nɔ́ʔɔ́ mɛ gɔ́ɔi gá$_3$ 'he$_1$ went$_2$ as if$_3$ to go$_4$, say, (in the direction of) Laa-gata here,' fara dį́yɛ nɔ́ɔ nɛ gą rɛ kpá wa ná gɔ́ɔ (very freely trans.) 'this situation of our not finding them here'

gɔ̨́y: dɛ́$_1$ gɔ̨́y sɛ́$_2$ 'do (it) like this then$_2$,' bó gɔ̨́y ná '(that) isn't the way,' ɛrɛ$_1$ kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋáa$_2$ gɔ̨́y ʔbɔ$_3$ 'we$_1$ like it$_2$ like this too$_3$,' nɛm$_1$ nɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́-mise$_2$ gɛʔdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k$_3$ gɔ̨́y ŋmgbóŋ$_4$ 'and I$_1$ followed Monsieur$_2$ slowly$_3$ like this for a long time$_4$,' wa$_1$ dɛ́ bisa$_2$ hó wa$_3$ gɔ̨́y nɛ túrú$_4$ kó wai$_5$ gɔ̨́y 'they$_1$ dressed$_2$ them$_3$ up like this in their$_5$ clothes$_4$,' wa$_1$ yú$_2$ gɔ̨́y$_3$ 'they$_1$ fled$_2$ a long time$_3$'

gbáŋ: ną́ ą́ nɛ$_1$ gbáŋ$_2$ ín$_3$ mɛ́$_4$ tɛ́-galá$_5$ mɛ$_6$ 'he shall go$_1$ along$_2$ with$_3$ you$_4$ to (the) market$_5$ there$_6$'

sɔ́n: ám$_1$ gbɔʔdà$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$ 'I$_1$ am completely$_3$ exhausted$_2$,' wa$_1$ tɔ̨́ mbɔra$_2$ hó wa$_3$ gɔ̨́y$_4$ túu sɔ́n$_5$ 'they$_1$ instruct$_2$ them$_3$ like this$_4$ fully$_5$,' bą́$_1$ ą́$_2$ gɔn$_3$ wa$_4$ nɛ́ gaza sɔ́n$_5$ 'after$_1$ he's$_2$ finished$_5$ circumcising$_3$ them$_4$,' ą́ gɔnà tą́-ą sɔ́n 'he considered it all'

372.12. Preposed DAs. This class is theoretically constituted by all the adverbs in the language not already mentioned. As a matter of fact, only a few such adverbs occur preposed to nouns in the corpus, and such an adjectival function of the adverbs is at any rate not common in the language (411.12). The number of members which constitute this class make it almost as important as the class of nouns or verbs. (Fifteen hundred occur in my dictionary.) These DAs are comparable to those words called "ideophones" in the literature on Bantu languages. As described by D. T. Cole, for example, they "are descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity . . . . In effect therefore, ideophones are vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences."[29] The following sections deal with their phonemic shape and derivation.

372.2. Phonemic shape. The most obvious characteristics of the phonemic shape of the DAs are the following: (1) They consist in very many cases of repeated elements; (2) they are generally much longer phonemically than are the members of other word classes; (3) their vowels are usually identical; and (4) their tones are usually all high or all low.

Since further comments on their shape in this section are limited to the noncombined forms, the definition and characteristics of the combined forms are given in paragraphs (a) through (f). In brief, the combined DAs are those that consist of two or more elements, very often but not necessarily, at least one of which has morphemic status, set off from each other by open juncture. (Information about the shape of these combined forms can be obtained from the section on derivation below, 372.3.)

(a) Many forms consist of two elements at whose juncture consonant clusters occur which otherwise occur only at open juncture, such as: dup dup, kép kép, fɛp fep, gbɔt gbɔt, ŋmgbɔt ŋmgbɔt.[30] Cf. ám$_1$ ndɔrà$_2$ dóp$_3$ ʔdol 'I$_1$ shot$_2$ a water-buck$_3$ (and he fell) with one shot.'

(b) Many forms consist of two elements, one of which occurs in other forms, sometimes with a definable meaning, permitting their recognition as free morphemes (although with restricted occurrence), such as:

kir kir '(going, being) round,' kiri '(wood is) round,' kiri wiri '(ball, stone is) big and round,' gbiʔdi kiri 'large and short (person),' cf. gbiʔdi gbiʔdi 'large and tall (person)'

zoŋ zoŋ 'hard (pot),' zoŋ ʔdoŋ 'stiff (arm)'

For other examples, see 372.3.

(c) Many forms consist of two repeated elements, the first of which in some instances (apparently for stylistic purposes) is set off by a following pause. Only a few such examples occur in my texts, but I recall that this is a very common practice. Not enough examples occur to permit the description of any patterns in the differences of phonemic shapes of the forms. For example:

dɥ́ŋ$_1$ wa$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ kɔʔdɔrɔ, kɔʔdɔrɔ 'they$_2$ began$_1$ to come$_3$, (making a noise) . . . '

háy$_1$ ʔdɔɔ́-wey$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ mɔ́ gɛ̧rɛŋ, gɛ̧rɛŋ '(they) crept$_1$ through this$_3$ fire$_2$ (going) . . . '

gɛ́ɛ́-wa dɥŋ wéé ŋmgbɔʔbɔk, ŋmgbɔʔbɔ ŋmgbɔʔbɔ 'their voices went . . . '

wéé kpúgut, . . . dɥŋ wéé kpúgutu kpúgutu kpúgutu 'made a noise . . . , continued to go . . . '

dɥ́ŋ$_1$ wa$_2$ sá gima$_3$ fu, fu, fu fu 'they$_2$ began$_1$ to sing$_3$ (going) . . . '

(d) Many forms consist of two (or more) repeated elements whose meaning is substantially the same as that of one of its elements. The device of repetition is a syntactic one, occurring with other word classes, having the meaning of intensity, repetition, continuation, etc. And in the case of these DAs, the meaning is somewhat the same. For examples, see derivation 372.3. Two other remarks must be made, however. First, there are some repeated forms which seem to have no meaning-resemblance to a nonrepeated form (at least in my data). Second, the majority of forms in the corpus are not paired with any nonrepeated form. But the converse is also true: Many nonrepeated forms never occur or only occasionally occur in a repeated form.

Where these characteristics are absent, the following two somewhat arbitrary rules decide whether a form is combined or not:

(e) All forms with only a repeated CV are taken to be combined unless the CV occurs as a free form. Thus: zą́zá, zizizi, zɛʔdɛʔdɛ, kokor, fu. (I assume that a form such as yɛɛyɛɛ could be repeated in whole.)

(f) All forms consisting of four syllables are taken to be combined of two words of unique occurrence because (1) the canonical forms of this word class (following the above analysis) do not contain four syllables, and (2) there remains the possibility that like so many other forms these too, with more data, would show one element turning up in other constructions. Here follows the complete list of this "residue," not an imposing one, considering the great number of the forms in the corpus: bɛra ndaʔdu, fɔlɔ fiyɔ, golo goto, gbere ŋgezeŋ, gboro goʔdok, gbɔsɔ ŋgɔlɔŋ, kpara ŋgusaŋ, kpɔtɔ mbiyɔ, kpǫrɔ ŋǫnɔŋ, lɔkɔ dɔrɔ, luru kpuŋmgbuŋ, mbɔlɔ ʔbɔtɔ, ŋmgbala siyo, ŋmgbɔrɔ ŋgɔndɔŋ, naŋma ziʔni, ndaʔda ŋmgbaŋ, ndɔrɔ ŋmgbɔʔdɔŋ, yuru kuʔduk, wɔ́kɔ́ zɔ́rɔ́. (Glosses here, in 372.21, and in 373.323 (i) have been regretfully omitted to save space.)

The description of the noncombined DAs follows, first grouped according to whether or not they contain repeated elements.

372.21. DAs which do not contain repeated elements have the following phonemic shapes:

CV	fu (rare)
CVV	ʔbéé, hoo, fɛ̨́ɛ́
CVVC	ŋgɔɔri, ndɛ́ɛ́r, lóóŋ
CVC	bɛl, béŋ, bɛm, bót, but
CVCV	bere, vírí, sɛkɛ, ruʔdu, ŋmgboʔdo, lɔŋgɛ
CVCVV	hǫmɛɛ, bɔfɛɛ, buyuu, fawɔɔ
CVCVC	biraŋ, bíríp, bukay, ʔbárák, dɛlɛŋ
CVVCVC	láázák (rare)
CVVCVV	ʔdááʔdíí, tąatii, fɛ̨ɛwɔɔ (rare)
CVCVCV	ʔdɛyɛrɛ, dǫmɔrɔ, dɛ́kɛ́rɛ́, dobaʔdá
CVCVCVV	ndɔʔdilɔɔ, hɛ́ŋɛ́rɛ́ɛ́, gɔgiʔdɔɔ
CVVCVCV	ʔbiikiri, ʔbɛɛkɛrɛ (rare)
CVCVCVC	dugulam (rare)

372.22. DAs which contain repeated elements are said to demonstrate complete or partial reduplication. Where there is partial reduplication, the reduplicated element may occur either initially or finally in the word.

372.221. Complete reduplication. When the reduplicated elements are CV, they are repeated three times; when they are CVV, they are repeated twice; and when they are VC, they are repeated twice and have a final echo vowel. Thus: bububu, fąafaa, ɛlɛlɛ.

372.222. Partial reduplication. The last four words are the only ones which demonstrate initial partial reduplication: dɔrɔrɔ 'placid (water),' bɛ́ʔdɛ́ʔdɛ́ ʔbɔzɔzɔ 'large (kernels),' kakaʔda 'difficult,' gbegbet 'thick (paper),' kokoʔdo 'strong (thick paper),' kokoroŋ '(circled) around,' cf. kor 'round.'

372.3. Derivation.[31] The description of the derivation of the DAs concerns itself with linguistic derivation, i.e., where the source is within the language itself. There is, however, nonlinguistic derivation, and a few words concerning this source of DAs are appropriate.

The nonlinguistic source is the world of sound mimicked in the DAs within the limits of the phonemic structure of the language. Since native-speakers of the language have a greater or lesser mimicking ability (yet always in my opinion much more than the speaker of English), and since the language permits the extensive use of DAs, it is very probable that hundreds of new forms are coined continually, but only a few of these ever become "words," that is, are generally accepted and used within a restricted community.

To be sure, onomatopoeic words are not too numerous in the data, for example, fét fét 'squeak of bicycle wheels,' ʔdiŋ ʔdiŋ 'walk of elephant on hard ground,' kákum 'roar of gun.'

Akin to onomatopoeia is the phenomenon of sound-symbolism or "secondary association":[32] certain phonemes or groups of phonemes recur in forms which share a common meaning, although sometimes only a minimal one. It is probably true that many such cases are nothing more than examples of derivation by analogy, that is, where new forms are made to resemble old forms (see the words with /eŋ/ and /oŋ/ for 'hard' below). But I think that there is also some correlation between certain sounds and certain meanings. It is of some significance, for example, that several of the forms meaning 'many' or 'many different' contain the phoneme /k/: vɔk vɔk, ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k, ŋmgbɔŋ ŋmgbɔk. Needless to say, many contraditions to the "rule" in any case could be found. For example:

raŋ 'sound made when a person runs on hard ground,' riŋ 'sound made when a small-hoofed animal runs on hard ground'

gbeŋ gbeŋ, reŋ reŋ, réŋ réŋ, kéŋ kéŋ, zoŋ zoŋ, roŋ roŋ, yen yen '(all referring to some kind of) hardness or tightness'

pám púlém, hám hám, pulam '(all referring to some kind of) lightness (in weight)'

pélɛ́m 'narrow (like piece of paper),' polom polom 'long and widish (like peeled manioc skins)'

mɔʔnuŋ mɔʔnuk 'soft (bone),' muʔnuŋ muʔnuk and gbuʔnuk gbuʔnuk 'soft (ground)'

ndɔʔdɔlɔ 'undried, green (beans), resilient (undried skull),' ndɔʔdilɔɔ 'soft, weak (sick body)'

The linguistic sources are also limited. Most of the DAs are derived from other DAs, but a few bear enough resemblance to words of other word classes, that one might say there is derivation in one or another direction. These two sources are described as "regular" and "irregular" processes, for in one there are systematic morphophonemic alternations and syntactic structures and in the other there are not.

372.31. Irregular derivation. For the sake of convenience I distinguish between those DAs which are derived from non-DAs and those which are derived from DAs.

372.311. Derivation from non-DAs. The examples are few and of doubtful validity:

boroy toy '(sit, be in one place) immoveable,' compare boro 'iron,' zoy zoy 'hard'
ʔbúró ʔbúró 'tiny (yams),' compare ʔburi 'shatter, break (like glass)'
kokoroŋ '(brush fire circled) around,' compare kokor 'roof ring'
kpɔ̨yɔŋ 'slipping out of one's hands,' compare kpɔ̨y 'to take off (clothes), skin, bruise'
ŋmgboʔbolo 'wide' (like mouth of zįya frog), related by informant to ŋmgbók tóólo '(certain) frog'
ndaʔdak ndaʔdak '(wood which) doesn't split well,' compare ndaʔdi 'to glue, stick together'
rutuʔbay '(different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' compare ruti 'to mix together,' wá rutó kpoó nɛ́ ŋmaá rutuʔbay 'they mixed the sauces together . . . '
wakap wakap 'noises made in going through dry grass,' compare waka 'cane-grass'

372.312. Derivation from DAs. The DAs are said to be irregularly derived from other DAs if they have some form and meaning in common, but are not correlated by systematic patterns (like those in 372.32 below). Yet a few can be described in terms of certain morphophonemic features in the language and, in two instances, of other dialects. Some of these are the same as those described under morphophonemics (133.1, 2), but they are included here because, while there are regular phonological alternations which are not correlated with any meaning difference, there may be differences in the following examples which escaped me. It is possible that here too we are confronted, at least in some cases, with the phenomenon of secondary association. With more data and a better control of the meanings, I might have been able to subsume all of these examples under a single classification.

372.312a. Words characterized by certain regular alternations.
(1) With vowel alternations:
roke roke 'rattling loose (as stone in gourd),' rɔkɛ rɔkɛ 'loose (spear-head on shaft)'
gaŋ ʔbilaŋ, gɔŋ ʔbilɔŋ 'twisted, bent'
ndoŋ kuléŋ, ndɔŋ kuléŋ '(sit around after illness) not doing anything'
(2) With consonant alternations or loss:
yándáŋ, rándáŋ '(walls of hole) clean straight up and down' (one informant rejected the first word and used the second for this meaning)
kpɛ̨rɛŋ 'smooth (of wood),' kpɛ̨rɛ 'smooth (of skin)'
fɔ̨k 'disorderly, useless,' fɔ̨fɔ '(do something) without getting results'
yóʔdé yóʔdé '(shoes) not sturdy,' yóré yóré '(cloth) not sturdy'; sɛ́ʔdɛ́ʔdɛ́ 'completely filled,' sɛ́rɛ́rɛ́ 'filled and slightly spilling over.' The /ʔd/ : /r/ alternation occurs on a dialectal level, the former in Gbɛya words and the latter in cognate words in the Gbaya dialect of Bouar.

372.312b. Words not characterized by an alternation. Some are correlated with a shorter free form, and some are not.

(1) With shorter free form. Several of these might be described as "fused forms" since they contain phonemic segments from each element of a combined form: fɛ̨ɛ, fɛ̨ɛwɔɔ '(talk) softly'; rék rék '(write something down) just as one heard it,' rɛ́kɛ́t 'caught in the act (of stealing)'; gboʔdok, gboro goʔdok 'strong (salt)'; yekere, yeke reke 'troubled'; kpiʔdiri, kpiri kiʔdi 'dull (knife).'

(2) With no shorter free form: lát, sát 'all'; ruʔbay, huʔbay '(people come) in large numbers'; gboŋgom, roŋgom '(fires meet) with loud noise'; diŋ kiriŋ '(water in cove) not flowing,' ʔdiŋ kiriŋ '(sit) without saying anything'; yeŋgɛlɛ, yɛŋ kɛlɛŋ '(glued papers came) apart'; keŋgeŋ 'stiff (lion's tail),' kek seʔde 'strong'; lakam lakam '(read) haltingly' (my informant compared this with lakaʔdi '(eat) very little').

372.32. Regular derivation. The regular or patterned devices used in the derivation of DAs are modification, reduplication, and combination. The bases involved are either free (although either of nonrestricted or restricted occurrence) or nonfree. The terms are defined and further classification is made below.

372.321. Derivation by modification involves the change in the phonemic shape of a free or nonfree base: a vowel is added or the tone(s) changed.

(a) Addition of vowel. The addition of a vowel occurs in free forms and in combined forms.

(1) The addition of a vowel in free forms occurs as final VV. In a few instances such a form can be correlated with words ending either with a C or a V, but the majority of forms can not thus be correlated and must be described as being derived from a nonfree base. All such words share the meaning of "extension of the quality in question." Although the quality of the vowel can not be predicted on the basis of the present data, there is a tendency to vocalic harmony (for which see 112.2).

Derived from free base:

hiyuu '(river flows) swiftly	hiyu hiyu '(red pepper is) hot'
kutɛɛ '(see) dimly'	kutɛ kutɛ 'soft'
tɔkɛɛ 'listless'	tɔk sɔʔdɔ 'drowsy'

Derived from nonfree base:

bɔfɛɛ 'long, draping down (of clothes)'
buyuu 'noise of people talking at once and not listening to each other'
dayaa 'circles (being made by stone thrown into water)'
fawɔɔ 'noise made by snake going through grass'
hɔ̨mɛɛ 'misty (condensation of water in bottle)'
féwóó 'quiet (not a person in sight or talking)'

(2) The addition of a vowel to a free form with final C is seen in combined forms. The vowel is always that which occurs in the free form. For example:

ʔbɛtɛ ʔbɛtɛ '(read) well	ʔbɛt '(arise) without saying anything'
koto koto '(pot leaks) continuously'	kot '(snatch something away) quickly'
ŋmgbɛlɛ ŋmgbɛlɛ 'level (road)'	ŋmgbɛl 'clear of rubbish'
gbɔŋgɔ lɔŋgɔ 'tall (person)'	gbɔŋ 'straight (road)'
ndóŋgó yóŋgó	ndóŋ 'far, far away'

(b) Change of tone(s). The change in tone involves noncombined and combined forms, and functions to distinguish between two otherwise homophonous forms. The correlation is between forms with low tone(s) and those with high tone(s). In the case of some combined forms another pattern obtains, for which see below. A large number of forms paired in this way have some semantic common denominator; perhaps all do, and my data were only insufficient for the rest.

(1) Change of tones with no segmental change:

vɛl vɛl, vɛ́l vɛ́l 'long (spear head)'
sip '(tightened and) fast (because bottom is flat),' síp '(shoes fit) tightly'
pirip pirip '(talk) too fast,' píríp '(pass) without being seen'
ŋmgbɛl 'level,' ŋmgbɛ́l 'prostrate (on ground)'
mbɔlɔ ʔbɔtɔ 'soft (plastic dish),' mbɔ́lɔ́ ʔbɔ́tɔ́ 'thin (paper)'
mɛnɛŋ 'soft (European mattress),' mɛ́nɛ́ŋ 'soft (cooked squash)'
keʔdeŋ keʔdeŋ '(roof leaks) drop by drop,' kéʔdéŋ kéʔdéŋ '(pot leaks) flowing out'
hoforo 'empty (box),' hófóró 'headless (axe handle)'
fot '(cut something soft) easily,' fót '(slip out) easily'
ʔbɛt '(arise and leave) without warning or saying anything,' ʔbɛ́t '(grab something from someone) abruptly'
boŋ 'open (space between words on page),' bóŋ '(sky) cleared (of clouds)'
ʔdɛkɛ ʔdɛkɛ '(young peanut plants) all over (plot),' ʔdɛ́kɛ́ ʔdɛ́kɛ́ 'exhausted'
fɨi 'dark, poor visibility,' fɨ́í 'little, few'
gbaŋ kalaŋ 'wide (crate),' gbáŋ káláŋ '(a few people fleeing) hurriedly'
gboŋ gboŋ 'cleared, clean,' gbóŋ gbóŋ '(hit) hard'
hɛl hɛl '(be) hot (in sun),' hɛ́l hɛ́l 'uneven, disproportionate (cuts of meat)'
keŋ keŋ 'shivering (from cold),' kéŋ kéŋ 'hard (pumped up tire tube)'
kusu kusu '(body) itching all over,' kúsú kúsú '(sunlight) pouring down (on something)'
kpɛrɛŋ 'smooth (board),' kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ '(walk) slowly as if looking for something'
lɔŋ lɔŋ '(earth) soft, free of stones,' lɔ́ŋ lɔ́ŋ 'completely bald'
ŋmgbalala 'thick (honey),' ŋmgbálálá 'light (from moon)'

(2) Change of tones with segmental change. Combined forms consisting of two reduplicated elements with low tones are correlated with others having high-low-high tones on three elements, the second one usually being a form shortened by the loss of a syllable (that is, CV) or a phoneme (C or V). In most cases the meanings of the two forms are (as far as I was able to determine) identical and the difference seems to be stylistic, but there is some semantic difference in a few forms. The examples are here grouped according to the kind and amount of segmental change involved.

No segmental change: bíl bil bíl '(talk) evasively (because caught stealing),' ndúŋ nduŋ ndúk '(act) evasive (because caught stealing),' ŋgáŋ ŋgaŋ ngák '(place is) rocky (stones scattered everywhere)' yɛ́ŋgɛ́m yɛŋgɛm yɛ́ŋgɛ́m '(go) here and there (as in looking for employment).'

Loss of CV: ʔbɛ́rɛ́ ʔbɛ ʔbérɛ́ '(walk) fast'; kpárú kpa kpárú '(listen) half-heartedly'; gbítí gbi gbítí '(get up) in haste'; wɔ́tɔ́ wɔ wɔ́tɔ́ '(many people) making noise (by talking in undertone)' : wɔtɔ wɔtɔ '(two or three people) making noise.'

Loss of C: dém de dém 'frantic (at the death of someone),' kpɔ̰́ kpɔ̰ kpɔ̰́t 'lumpy (dough)'; kpṵ́k kpṵ kpṵ́k 'descriptive of many knots on tree'; pán pa pán '(roam around) usually alone'; táŋ ta táŋ '(pedaling bicycle) up and down' : taŋ taŋ 'beating (of heart).'

Loss of V: kéé ke kéé 'condition of eyes in reaction to bright light'; yáá ya yáá '(running around) doing evil.'

372.322. Derivation by reduplication involves those words with identical terminal CVCVs. The final CV is taken to be a reduplication of the preceding because of the correlation between words which are characterized by such sequences and those which are not (even though for some words it means setting up hypothetical base forms). This is not the only use of the process of reduplication; it occurs stylistically in the structuring of sentences and in the composition of combined DAs. Words having reduplicated elements are classified according to whether the reduplication is complete or partial.

(a) Complete reduplication. The examples are divided according to whether the repetition occurs twice or three times. None of these is correlated with a nonreduplicated word.

(1) Twice repeated. These always involve reduplication of an element consisting of CVV: dɔ̰́ɔ́ dɔ̰́ɔ́ '(come) always,' fa̰afaa '(stomach hurts) . . . ,' ŋgɛɛŋgɛɛ '(look for someone) here and there,' páápáá 'completely (gone),' vɔɔvɔɔ '(rain) hard with much thunder.'

(2) Repeated three times. These always involve reduplication of an element consisting of CV: bububu 'budded (cotton),' zizizi '(roasting meat) sizzling,' zɔzɔzɔ '(condition of person who is) perspiring a great deal.'

(b) Partial reduplication. The reduplication involves the repetition of a final CV of a free or assumed base. Some assumed bases are in turn correlated with free ones, the latter ending with a C and the former ending with an added echo vowel. Once again, some of the correlated pairs have some meaning in common, and the others do not.

(1) Correlated with free bases.

Without intermediate base:

kususu 'descriptive of certain tuber' : kusu kusu '(itch) terribly all over'
kpiʔdiʔdi '(smells) bad, strong' : kpiʔdi kpiʔdi '(fame spreads) all over'
ŋgɛrɛrɛ 'descriptive of rising of sun' : ŋgɛrɛ ŋgɛrɛ '(walk about) in a rapid, nervous sort of way, looking for something'
wɛrɛrɛ 'descriptive of person coming through dry grass' : wɛrɛ wɛrɛ '(beer) sweet (before fermenting)'

With intermediate base:

mbɔlɔlɔ '(lie) around (fire)' : mbɔl mbɔl '(hawk flies) in circles'
ŋmgbalala '(honey is) thick' : ŋmgbal '(leave child) alone and uncared for'

tututu '(go into something) without worrying about consequences' : tut '(pull away firebrand) suddenly'

vɔkɔkɔ 'many objects (all white),' but also descriptive of newly sprouted corn plants : vɔk vɔk 'many different things'

(2) Correlated with nonfree bases. The examples are numerous, and only a few are given: dɔrɔrɔ 'limpid (pond),' bįsisi 'descriptive of aroma of perfume,' fé?dé?dé '(chase someone away) with severity,' fɛ́?mɛ́?mɛ́ 'narrow (bird's bill),' hɛ́ŋmgbɛ́ŋmgbɛ́ 'good-flavored (salt),' ɛlɛlɛ 'descriptive of rabbit fur bending in breeze,' ɛ̨́rɛ́rɛ́ ~ į́rírí 'sweet (like candy),' ururu 'rumbling (of elephant's stomach),' ususu 'descriptive of angry animal's fur standing up.'

372.323. Derivation by combination is of two types: (1) the combination of forms at least one of which is either a free noncombined word or a recurrent form with a constant meaning in several different combined forms (as in a,2 and b,1 below), and (2) the combination of forms of unique occurrence (as in a,1 and b,2).

Two major types of combined forms are distinguished: those consisting of dissimilar words and those consisting of similar words. This distinction rests on the fact that there are many combined forms in which the second word is more or less unlike the first. They are clearly distinct from those forms with completely reduplicated forms. However, some are characterized by phonemic dissimilation that resembles the dissimilating pattern of the reduplicated forms.

A very interesting feature of combined forms (of both classes) is that there are many nonfree words which share both a minimal phonemic shape and meaning with other words. Since, however, these never occur independently, I can not be sure how much of the meaning of the entire combined form is carried by these words in question and how much is carried by the first word. One analysis would attribute to the second form (which is usually the patterned one, the one with least phonemic distinctiveness) the basic meaning and consider the other one a refining or distinguishing word, a type of modifier. For example, all combined forms containing a "word" which has the shape kVsV share the meaning of 'unevenness, deviation from a norm.' Thus: wɔrɔ kɔsɔ '(pounded grain sorghum) but not yet soft'; kpɔrɔ kɔsɔ 'hobnailed (shoes), bumpy (Braille dots), uneven (edges of paper chewed on by mouse)'; wolo koso 'tasteless (where sweetness is expected).' The precise function of the first word is, however, unclear. In the case of kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ 'healthy (skin unaffected by leprosy),' for example, the meaning seems to be 'very nice and smooth, even.' See also wolo koso 'sound of water flowing in gutter.' A similar problem obtains in the dissimilated forms of the reduplicated combined forms. This is indeed an intriguing problem, but its solution can not be resolved, I feel, without two or three times the amount of data at our disposal.

(a) Combination of dissimilar words. Many of these consist of words similar in shape and meaning to other words. For the reasons given above, these forms are called combined forms with recurrent partials. The others have no recurrent partials, that is, they are of unique occurrence. I feel, nevertheless, that with an abundance of additional data many of these would turn up with semantic distinctiveness.

(1) Combined forms with dissimilar nonrecurrent partials. This list is complete: mbɔlɔ ʔbɔtɔ, mbɔ́lɔ́ ʔbɔ́tɔ́, lɔkɔ dɔrɔ, ndɔrɔ ŋmgbɔʔdɔŋ, ŋmgbɔrɔ ŋgɔndɔŋ, ndaʔda ŋmgbaŋ, golo goto, gboro goʔdok, kpɔtɔ mbiyɔ, kpǫrɔ ŋǫnɔŋ, bɛra ndaʔdu, ndɛl ʔbɛ, fɔlɔ fiyɔ, kpara ŋgusaŋ, luru kpuŋmgbuŋ, ŋgara ŋgasa, kpiri kiʔdi, ʔniŋ mɔŋ, gbám gbím, gbąŋ ʔmųraŋ, boroy toy, pám púlém, ndoŋ kuléŋ.

(2) Combined forms with dissimilar recurrent partials. The examples are grouped according to the form of the recurrent word, which is cited formulaicly since its vowel or vowels are usually like those of the word which precedes it. This list is complete:

fVrV: gbaʔda fara 'small,' ŋmgboʔdo foro 'small (dog)'

kVrV: ŋgutu kuru 'short (tuber),' baʔda kara 'short and fat (person)'

sVʔdV (meaning of extension or constriction): ʔdik siʔdi '(sit) unmoving (that is, not getting up to greet people who are returning with meat),' dók sóʔdó 'shallow (river),' gbak sáʔdá (or gbák?) 'flat (plate),' gbɛk sɛʔdɛ 'wide-bottomed (gourd),' kɔk sɔʔdɔ 'bent (head of war-club),' tɔk sɔʔdɔ 'drowsy,' kɔ́ʔbɔ́ sɔ́ʔdɔ́ 'long (bird bill),' dom soʔdo 'tasteless (not enough salt),' hák sáʔdá 'tight (hat which doesn't fit),' kek seʔde 'strong, healthy (child),' kɛ́k sɛ́ʔdɛ́ 'thin (person after illness)'

ʔbVrV (quality of being hard, inflexible): dɛkɛ ʔbɛrɛ 'descriptive of squatting,' goso ʔboro 'stiff (new mat, tire),' ŋgasa ʔbara 'hard,' ŋgara ʔbara 'hard (ground),' saka ʔbara 'sandy sensation (in eyes)'

ʔbVlV (quality of being supple, flabby, yielded): mbɔkɔ ʔbɔlɔ 'supple, soft (cat's body),' zaka ʔbila '(different kinds of sauces) mixed together,' rɔkɔ ʔbiyɔ 'loose-jointed (corpse before rigor mortis),' compare rɔkɛ rɔkɛ '(spearhead) loose (on shaft).' Perhaps ʔbiyɔ can be explained by alternation of /l/ and /y/ (see phonemics 133.1).

sVʔnV: nįk sįʔni 'wrinkled,' gbak saʔna 'unprepared to give a gift (flustered?)'

lVrV: bɔk lɔrɔ 'wet (wood),' hɛp lɛrɛ (translation not determined)

ŋgVlVŋ: gbɔsɔ ŋgɔlɔŋ 'loose, untied (rope),' gbeze ŋgereŋ 'unprepared.' These are subsumed under one formula because of the alternation that is possible between /l/ and /r/ (see 133.1).

sV (quality of being in disorder, deviating from accepted pattern): gbok so '(come) unexpectedly,' ʔmam su 'large, whole (manioc), large, rotten, unclean (tooth),' ŋmgbuk su 'descriptive of being angry and puckering up one's mouth,' wak sa '(what they say does not agree, it's still) in disagreement'

yVrV: gbéŋmgbé yéré '(appeared in front of the lions) all of a sudden, unprotected,' ŋgɔkɔ yɔrɔ 'uncleaned (unhoed and unlevelled front yard)'

ʔdVŋ: ndoŋ ʔdiŋ 'thick (cloth),' compare ndoŋ ʔboloŋ 'round (tree trunk); ŋmgbɔŋ ʔdɔŋ 'fat and tall,' róŋ ʔdóŋ 'short and thin,' yɔŋ ʔdɔŋ '(stay in one place) without going on ahead,' zoŋ ʔdoŋ 'stiff (arm),' compare zoŋ zoŋ 'hard (pot)'

ʔbVlVŋ: ndiŋ ʔbiriŋ '(be) disinterested, still (because of cold),' compare ndiŋ 'quality of not being able to ring'; gaŋ ʔbilaŋ 'twisted, bent,' compare gaŋ 'no pep (after eating),' ndoŋ ʔboloŋ 'round (tree trunk)'

dVŋ: ŋmɛŋ dɛŋ 'caved in (bottom of basket),' naŋ diŋ 'tough (meat),' teŋ deŋ 'stiff (neck)'

ʔnVŋ: diŋ ʔniŋ 'heavy (spear),' kɛ́ŋ ʔnɛ́ŋ 'descriptive of last quarter of moon,' ŋmaŋ ʔnaŋ 'big and fat,' sɔ́ŋ ʔnɔ́ŋ (make house) small'

kVrVŋ: ʔdɔŋ kɔrɔŋ '(body) swollen (in illness),' compare ʔdɔŋ ʔdɔŋ 'large (bundle of hɔ̧fi grass)'; diŋ kiriŋ 'nonflowing (water in cove),' compare diŋ ʔniŋ 'above'; gbaŋ kalaŋ 'wide (crate),' compare gbaŋ gbaŋ 'open wide (mouth of lion's den)'; kpáŋ káláŋ '(open door) wide,' soŋ koroŋ '(sit on ground) squatting,' woŋ koroŋ (same as soŋ koroŋ), wɔŋ kɔlɔŋ 'descriptive of house with walls up but untied'

kpVŋ: rɔŋ kpɔŋ '(river flows) smoothly,' gɔŋ kpɔŋ '(crocodile swishes tail) back and forth'

sVŋ: gaŋ saŋ '(killed big game) with one shot,' gɔn sɔŋ '(lumber) piled up,' saŋ soŋ 'descriptive of spear-shafts being different'

(b) Combination of similar words. The forms in this class consist of a base and a reduplicated form. The reduplicated form can occur without change or with change. In the latter the change consists primarily of different types of dissimilation. The examples are grouped accordingly.

(1) Combinations with a reduplicated form without change. Once again some combined forms can be paired with a nonreduplicated form and some can not. The following is a complete list of the former kind. It should be noticed once more that there may or may not be a similarity in meaning between the reduplicated form and its nonreduplicated base.

Correlated words with similar meanings:

gɛlɛm gɛlɛm '(runs) fast,' gɛlɛm 'descriptive of fire flaming up'
zcm zɔm '(his liver is) cool (so he does good),' zɔm 'cool'
yȩm yȩm 'many (people),' yȩm 'descriptive of many people rising'
yɛɛ yɛɛ '(carry book) without knowing how to read it,' yɛɛ '(carry something) heavily'
ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m 'descriptive of house knocked down by wind,' ŋgɔ́rɔ́m '(whirlwind carried) many of them away'
ŋmgbóŋ ŋmgbóŋ, ŋmgbóŋ 'a long time'
lám lám '(hear) obediently,' lám '(come) right away'
kɛr kɛr '(write) rapidly,' kɛr '(blood) gushes out'
gbɔt gbɔt '(tree big but) weak,' gbɔt 'descriptive of lion breaking buffalo's neck'
gbɔr gbɔr '(numerous people stand around) doing nothing,' gbɔr 'untied (firewood)'
zéŋ zéŋ, zéŋ 'straight'
ŋmgbeleŋ ŋmgbeleŋ '(cutting grass) in all directions,' ŋmgbeleŋ 'cleared (plot of land)'

Correlated words with no similar meanings:
dɛlɛŋ dɛlɛŋ '(love someone) always,' dɛlɛŋ '(see) at a glance'
fót fót 'everyone, all (leave),' fót '(come out) easily'
gboŋ gboŋ 'cleared (path),' gboŋ '(shoot animal) with one shot'
ŋgɔ́n ŋgɔ́n '(come) fast,' ŋgɔ́n 'always being "on the go"'

(2) Combinations with a reduplicated form with change. The change consists of (a) the replacement of the first C of the reduplicated form with another C, (b) the replacement of the first V by another V, (c) by the replacement of the first CV, (d) and by the loss of the final V. The examples are grouped accordingly.

Replacement of the first C. Several types of replacements occur. The more important, grouped according to the replacive C, are the following: C > /w/, /y/, or /l/; /y/ > /r/. Many of the forms in each of these groups have a common, although perhaps minimal meaning.

C > w:
ʔbɔ́tɔ́ wɔ́rɔ́ 'descriptive of sensation in ears upon hearing loud noise'
kéré wéré '(knock something) clean off'
kiri wiri 'round (like ball)'
mbélé wélé 'crazy, crazily'

C > y:
buŋgu yuŋgu 'descriptive of people talking at once'
gbéŋmgbé yéré '(appear in front of lions) unexpectedly'
haka yaka 'rough (unplaned lumber)'
keŋge yeŋge 'crumpled'
koŋgo yoŋgo 'tough (meat)'
nųku yųku 'wrinkled (dried hide)'
ndóŋgó yóŋgó 'far away'
saŋa yaŋa 'intermeshed (tree roots)'

C > l:
gbɔŋgɔ lɔŋgɔ 'descriptive of standing around, not working hard'
sɛ́ŋɛ́ lɛ́ŋɛ́ 'filled to brim'
tɛ́ŋgɛ́ lɛ́ŋgɛ́ 'tall and thin'
túŋgú lúŋgú '(go) far away'

C > r (see below for more examples):
dęŋɛ ręŋɛ 'swollen (leg)'
yeke reke 'troubled, frightened'

C > n. There is only one example: baŋa naŋa 'only (one).'

Replacement of the first V. This consists of replacing /a/ by /u/. The patterned association of the vowels /a/ and /u/ is seen in many other combined forms. For example:
gaʔda guʔda 'dirty (water)'
hala hula 'light in weight by nature (cotton)'
laŋmgba luŋmgba 'swaying (motion of the loin clouts of dancing men)'
raʔda ruʔda 'descriptive of fleas crawling on dog's body'
vana vuna 'condition of ground not well weeded'
yąkpa yųkpa 'descriptive of spearing (old mat in practice)'

Replacement of C and V. In these examples the patterns for replacing the C are among those cited above. The patterns for the vowel replacement are different ones. For example:

faka luka 'scaly'
yɔŋgɔ riŋgɔ 'longish (stone)'
kpɔ́ŋgɔ́ ríŋgɔ́ 'longish (squash which is not generally very long)'
yąŋa rįŋa 'weakened (by illness)'

Loss of final V. There is only one example:

ŋmgbílí ŋmgbíl 'black (like river-otter's fur)'

380. Substantives. Substantives comprise two classes of words: nominatives (or simply nouns) and their substitutes. They are treated in 381 and 382 respectively. The greatest privileges of occurrence for the class are characteristic of the common nouns: (1) they occur with the determinant suffix; (2) they occur as heads of endocentric noun phrases with adjectives, prepositional phrases, verbs, or other nouns as attributes; and (3) they occur in exocentric constructions in prepositional phrases or as actors (or subjects) of verbal predications.

381. Nominatives. In the following sections are described their classes (381.1) and their derivation (381.2). For regular allomorphic changes see 132, 212.2, 213.1, and 213.2.

381.1. Classes. The nominatives comprise two classes: common nouns and proper nouns.

381.11. Common and intimate nouns. The common nouns have the greatest freedom of syntactic distribution of all substantives and can occur with the substantival suffixes. They are composed of two classes, the intimate and the nonintimate. The intimate nouns are characterized by the fact that they occur with the suffixal or free personal pronouns with the meaning of possession whereas the nonintimate nouns must be followed by a prepositional phrase with kó 'of.' The intimate nouns are names of body-parts and the nouns ʔbiya or ŋmaá 'friend,' yám 'father,' and kor- 'grandfather'—but only in the phrase bé-kor- 'grandchild' (otherwise koo kɔ́m 'my grandfather'). However, intimate nouns do occasionally occur with the prepositional phrase: yám kɔ́m 'my father,' kɔ̨́-sɛra kɛ́ rɛ́ 'our hearts' (= 'liver'). For example:

yám$_1$-mɛ́$_2$ feà$_3$ wéndé. 'Did$_3$ your$_2$ father$_1$ die$_3$?'
wí-ré$_1$ yáá$_2$ ín$_3$ ʔbiya$_4$-ɛ̨́$_5$ 'a person$_1$ goes around$_2$ with$_3$ his own$_5$ friend$_4$'
ám$_1$ ndɔrà$_2$ kú$_3$-ą$_4$ 'I$_1$ shot$_2$ its$_4$ leg$_3$'

381.12. Proper nouns. These are names of persons, dogs, and places. They are distinguished from the common nouns by a much more restricted distribution: They do not occur with any of the substantival suffixes and they occur as heads of nominative phrases only with the attributes ó 'plural marker,' ŋma 'some, a certain,' and nɔ́ɔ 'this.' The construction ŋma plus a place name means 'a certain person from . . . ' Thus: ŋma ndurí (or more explicitly ŋma wí-ndurí) tɛá 'a certain person from Ndurí came.' For the use of ó with personal names see 361.1. Examples are:

am$_1$ zɔ́k$_2$ ó bana-sɛ́rɛ ín$_3$ yám-wara mɛ$_4$ 'I$_1$ see$_2$ Bana-sɛ́rɛ and$_3$
Yám-wara over there$_4$'
bana-sɛ́rɛ nɔ́ɔ 'this (fellow) Bana-sɛ́rɛ!'
ám$_1$ nɛà$_2$ tɛː́ndurí mɛ$_3$ 'I$_1$ went$_2$ to Ndurí there$_3$'

Personal names consist of one word or several words in syntactic relationship to each other. Since the analysis of the composition of personal names is best taken up in a discussion of their meaning and use, a subject beyond the scope of this grammar, it must suffice to simply list several names taken at random: dan sɛ́ 'twin(s) then,' doo fón 'interfere with sorghum,' dom 'penis,' dɛ kɔ́í sɛ́ 'make your own first,' dé kɔfɛ bɔ́ ná 'there are no good in-laws,' dɛ́á nam feá é 'treating relatives well is dead,' dɛ́ nam gán 'treat relatives well in vain.'

381.2. Derivation. Nominatives are derived by affixation and compounding.[33]

381.21. Affixation. Nominatives are derived by the affixation of the nominalizing suffix {-i$_3$}, the morpheme ː́V, and zero.

381.211. The suffix {-i$_3$} occurs with low tone imperfective verbs. Thus: sii kɔ́m 'my returning,' nɛi$_1$ nɛm$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ gɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'this$_4$ going$_1$ which I$_2$ go$_3$,' wí-zịi 'a tall person.' For a more complete discussion of this morpheme, see 211.4.

381.212. The suffix ː́V occurs with verbs, adverbs, and nouns. See 213.3.

381.213. Zero occurs with low tone imperfective and high tone perfective verbs.

(a) With low tone imperfective verbs:[34] tom 'message' < tom 'to send.' Thus, tóm$_1$ tom$_2$ hą̂ ą$_3$ 'send$_1$ him$_3$ a message$_2$,' bé-tom 'messenger,' you tom 'to run with a message.'

(b) With high tone perfective verbs. Nominalized high tone perfective verbs usually occur with the determinant suffix, but there are a few which need not occur with this suffix. For example: dɛ́má 'a crowd of people' < dɛm 'to be many,' sɔ́ká 'wisdom' < sɔk 'to mature,' nɛ́áa$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ gére$_3$, nɛ$_4$ síóa$_5$ gan rɛ́m ná$_6$ 'going$_1$ was$_2$ all right$_3$, but$_4$ returning$_5$ was awful$_6$' < nɛ 'to go' and si 'to return.'

381.22. Compounding. Nominatives are derived by combining free forms either in syntactic or nonsyntactic relationship to each other. The first (381.221-225) are called syntactic compounds or phrase nouns and the second (381.226) nonsyntactic compounds. One characteristic of compound nominatives is that none of them ever occurs with the determinant suffix.

381.221. Noun + noun. In these one noun is head and the other its attribute, the relationship being signalled by the presence of the morpheme {ː́}. In only the first of the following examples does one of the nouns explicitly identify the object:

te-fɔ̧́tɔ́ 'mint bush' (perhaps used in the swatting of flies) < 'tree, bush'
+ 'sweat flies'
zuː́fara 'rubbish heap' < zu 'head, top of' + 'place'

toro-́kɔ̧ 'certain spider' (= 'dog of hole') < 'dog' + 'hole'
dom-́ko 'ko tree sprout' (= 'penis of ko') < dom 'penis' + ko 'a certain palm tree'
ʔbaka-́zi̧ya 'certain sorghum' < ʔbaka 'foreleg' + 'a certain frog'
bé-duk 'pestle' < 'child + 'mortar'
nú-wey 'clan' < 'mouth, edge' + 'fire'

381.222. Descriptive adverb + noun. The examples are limited to the following two where, as in the preceding section, the relationship of the two constituents is marked by the occurrence of the morpheme {-́}: nduu-́ri 'river otter' < nduu 'fuzzy (like rabbit fur)' + 'river,' yɛ̧rɛrɛ-́wesé 'certain snake' < yɛ̧rɛrɛ 'cool' + 'sun.'

381.223. Adjective + noun. The following is the only example: gbɛ̧ béem 'certain tree toad' < 'brown' + 'child.'

381.224. Verb phrases.[35] These consist of a verb (in the imperfective low tone form) plus a noun complement which may in turn be followed by a descriptive adverb. For example:

sɛn mɔ 'spitefulness' < 'to hate' + 'thing'
sɔy dam 'certain sorghum' < 'to come up, sprout' + 'granary'
zum yara 'sleeping sickness' < 'to duck or nod one's head' + 'sleep'
ǵbi̧n te 'eland' < 'to break' + 'tree'
kɔy oro 'certain dove' < 'to beg' + 'place'
toy fuk 'donkey' < 'to carry' + 'flour'
gɔm bú̧u 'tenth lunar month' < 'to cut, appear' + 'white'
du wey zɛ̧ɛ́ 'firefly' < 'to light a fire' + 'fire' + 'burning low'

381.225. Clauses. These are distinguished from the preceding class by having a verbal predicate as one of the constituents. In most cases there is also a formal subject. For example:

ti̧i gbɛ̧ 'certain fish' < 'tail' + 'is red'
dom ŋmgbaá te 'certain bat' < 'penis' + 'hung (upon)' + 'tree'
wesè ré ŋmgbóŋ ná 'certain snake' < 'sun' + 'sets' + 'long ago' + 'not' (= 'sun won't be long in setting')
mɔ̧́y zɛ́p 'thirteenth lunar month' < 'gather' + 'one place'

381.226. Noun + noun in nonsyntactic relationship. These are compounds where the morpheme {-́} is absent. In only some instances (see the first four below) is the object identified by a word in the compound. In these one could perhaps identify the first element as the head of the construction, but in the others such an identification seems improbable. At any rate, the list is so short that any more precise statement would only be ad hoc. For example:

zoro gɔ̧ 'leopard fish' (the body markings of which resemble those of a leopard) < zoro 'fish' + gɔ̧ 'leopard'
te zoro 'certain tree' (the small branches of which are used by women to string fish for roasting) < te 'tree' + zoro 'fish'
duwa dígí 'sheep' < 'goat' + dígí 'eagle'
dom bere 'certain tree (which grows along streams, the fruit of which

resemble long gourds, having the shape of pendulous breasts)' < dom 'penis' + bere 'breast'

bɔɔ dɛɛ 'certain tree' < bɔɔ 'stupidity, foolishness' + dɛɛ 'certain tree'

zɛra nduy 'certain liana (the leaves of which are said to resemble the ears of the nduy mouse)' < zɛra 'ear' + 'a certain mouse'

382. Substitutes. These comprise not only the personal pronouns but also all other words that could conceivably replace members of the nominative class. They are demonstrative, interrogative, numerative, locative, temporal, reciprocal, and quantitative substitutes. For an alternative classification of all but the personal pronouns, see note 2 of this chapter. Their description follows this order of presentation.

382.1. Personal substitutes (henceforth called personal pronouns because of common usage) comprise two classes: common and explicit pronouns. The latter are used in quotations or anywhere else where the pronominal reference is made explicit, and the common pronouns are used elsewhere. The personal pronouns are further distinguished for number (singular and plural abbreviated S and P) and for person (first, second, and third abbreviated 1, 2, and 3). Another dimension is added by the fact that all pronouns have allomorphs, some defined phonologically and others defined morphologically.[36] These allomorphs, distinguished by form and distribution, are described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival.

Abbreviated Reference Chart
of Personal Pronouns

	Nonsubjectival	Subjectival low	Subjectival high	Nonsubjectival explicit
1S	mí ~ mbí ~ (-V́m ~ -m)	am ~ (-Vm ~ -m ~ ˋm)	ám ~ -m	
2S	mɛ́	mɛ	mɛ́	ɛ̨́
3S	ą ~ (-aa ~ -áa)	ą ~ -aa	ą́	
1P	ɛ́rɛ́ ~ rɛ́	ɛrɛ ~ rɛ	ɛ́rɛ́ ~ rɛ́	
2P	wí ~ (-V́í ~ -í ~ ´í)	wi ~ (-Vi ~ -i)	wí ~ -í	óró ~ ró
3P	wa	wa	wá	

Before the allomorphs of the pronouns are taken up in detail, there are some general remarks to be made:

(a) Personal pronouns are generally used only of animate objects, but occasionally 3S and 3P are used of inanimate objects. Thus: eá$_1$ ą$_2$, gą́$_3$ ą́$_4$ nɔá$_5$ '(I) put$_1$ it$_2$, so$_3$ it$_4$ (the stone) is fast$_5$.' Compare the use of wí 'person' and ó 'plural marker' with inanimate objects. Sometimes the word mɔ 'thing' is used when one wants to be explicit: am bá mɔí 'I take the thing (that is, it).'

(b) The 2P common pronoun is often used as an impersonal pronoun, roughly equivalent to the English 'one' or 'you' or the French 'on.' Although it seems to be most frequent in proverbs and personal names, it is common in normal speech. Thus: tɛì$_1$ gbɛ́ŋ$_2$, gó$_3$ gan$_4$ rɛ$_5$ kpá$_6$ fara-́ɔ yara$_7$ ná$_4$ 'your body$_1$ is hot$_2$, so$_3$ we$_5$ don't$_4$ find$_6$ a way to sleep$_7$'; záan$_1$ į́ŋíí$_2$, nɛ$_3$ ganai$_4$ į́ŋ$_5$ záan ná$_4$ '(the) universe$_1$ knows you$_2$, but$_3$ you don't$_4$ know$_5$ (the) universe' (a proverb); fey ganá zuí 'death is too much for you' (a personal name).

(c) The plural pronouns are used to introduce or recapitulate a plurality of persons, either in the subject or verb phrase, when the sentence contains a phrase with the preposition ín 'with.' For example:

am$_1$ mbáí$_2$ ín$_3$ kó$_4$ kó mɛ́$_5$ 'I$_1$ greet you$_2$ and$_3$ your$_5$ wife$_4$'
ɛ́rɛ́ tɛà$_1$ zɛ́ɛ$_2$ ínaa 'he and I came$_1$ yesterday$_2$'
wi$_1$ dɛ́$_2$ mɔ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ ín kpá nam ná sɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'you$_1$ and Kpá-nam-ná do$_2$ this$_3$ today$_4$'
ɔ́ nɛ́ wen kɔ́í ínaa wen-́dɛ mɔi sɔ́n 'you and he have to do it all'

(d) The 2P and 3P pronouns are used for single individuals who are held in respect. The culture requires that certain people are always addressed or referred to in the plural forms (such as parents, in-laws, elderly people in general, etc.). The pronouns are, however, also used stylistically by people who would otherwise address each other in the singular. In such cases the polite forms seem to be used sporadically and in short stretches of speech. The polite forms are not followed by the plural verbs where such exist. Thus: wi ɔ́ gére wéndé. 'Are you (S) all right?'

(e) The 1P common and plural explicit pronouns ɛrɛ and oro occur in these forms in isolation, after pause, or whenever emphasis is placed on them. Otherwise, they occur as rɛ and ro. Their distribution therefore is in part formal and in part stylistic. For example:

ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ nɛá$_2$ yarí$_3$ 'we$_1$ went$_2$ hunting$_3$'
óró$_1$ kpaà$_2$ mbé$_3$ wen$_4$ '(they said), "We$_1$ found$_2$ a new$_3$ story$_4$"'
nɛ$_1$, ɛrɛ$_2$ yáá$_3$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ hiked around$_3$'
nɛá$_1$ rɛ ɔ́$_2$ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̨́$_3$ '(we) went$_1$ (and) slept$_2$ in the bush$_3$'
sɛra-rɛ́$_1$ dɛ́ saa$_2$ 'our livers$_1$ (that is, we) were happy$_2$'
gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ yáá$_3$ rɛ nɛ́$_4$ gɔ̨́y$_5$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ hiked$_3$ (and) we went on$_4$ like this$_5$'
gɛ rɛ gám tɛ-rɛ́$_1$ rɛ péé ʔdoŋ$_2$ 'so we turned around$_1$ (and) we returned$_2$'

382.11. The common pronouns, like the explicit pronouns, have allomorphs which are distinguished by form and distribution, and are described in terms of two sets, called nonsubjectival and subjectival. Some of these (that is, 1S, 3S, and 2P) also have bound allomorphs whose distribution is described in 382.113.

382.111. The nonsubjectival common pronouns are those which are used in any way except as subjects of verbal predications. This is to say that they occur in isolation and as complements (that is, in construction with) of nouns, verbs, and prepositions. (It is to be noted that the tones of the first and second persons, both singular and plural, are high, whereas those of the third person are low. This distinction has no grammatical significance, but it has a historical one.) These pronouns are the following:

mí ~ mbí	'I'	ɛ́rɛ́	'we'
mɛ́	'you'	wí	'you'
ą	'he, she'	wa	'they'

Examples: ʔbay mí 'only I,' gan wa įŋ táá rɛ́ ná 'they don't know us yet,' wá a wa tɛ́ 'here they come,' tɛ-mɛ́ 'your body,' tɛí 'your bodies,' wá įŋɔ́ ą 'they know him,' mɔ kɔ́ wa 'their thing,' mɔ kɔ́í 'your thing,' wí ye ge 'you say,' am mbá wan wí 'I greet you, sir.'

382.112. The subjectival common pronouns are used as subjects of verbal predications and occur in two sets, one in which all pronouns have high normal word tone(s) and the other where they have low tone(s). The subjectival pronouns are otherwise identical with the basic ones with the one exception that the 1S is am instead of mí. The distribution of these pronouns is discussed in the following paragraphs.

(a) Low tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

(1) Preceding imperfective (high or low tone) verbs when not preceded by the connectives há, á, or só kó. (For the uses of low and high tone imperfective verbs see 393.1.) Examples are:

mɛ$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ wéey$_3$. 'Hey$_3$ you$_1$, come$_2$.'

mɛ́$_1$ gan$_2$ mɛ ha$_3$ mɔ$_4$ há$_5$ wí-ré$_6$ ná$_2$ 'you$_1$, you (who) didn't$_2$ give$_3$ things$_4$ to$_5$ people$_6$'

bó$_1$ nɛ ą$_2$ gbo$_3$ sɛn-́tɛ$_4$ 'when$_1$ he went$_2$ (and) arrived$_3$ at$_4$. . .'

(2) Preceding perfective verbs when preceded by (a) the connective nɛ 'and,' by (b) gba or ʔbaa 'even if,' and by (c) a verb of motion in a series. Examples:

sóó$_1$ gbai$_2$ dɔà$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ 'and$_1$ even if you$_2$ should keep$_3$ (things) from us$_4$'

bó nɛm kúró 'as I was getting up'

mɛ́$_1$ nɛ mɛ bę́á$_2$ tom$_3$ 'you$_1$ who refused$_2$ work$_3$'

(b) High tone subjectival pronouns occur in the following environments:

(1) Preceding imperfective verbs (a) when preceded by the connectives há, á, or só kó, or (b) when preceded by the connectives mɔ́, wen kó or auxiliary verbs, and (c) when not preceded by one of these forms but in a negative command (preceded or not by the connective á) or (d) in a negated predication having the meaning of futurity. For example:

só kó$_1$ wá$_2$ tɔ̨́$_3$ gɔ̨́y$_4$ 'so$_1$ they$_2$ spoke$_3$ in this manner$_4$'

gbɛ́$_1$ dila$_2$ mą́ ą́ dɛ$_3$ nɛ́ ge$_4$ '(he) killed$_1$ a lion$_2$ to do$_3$ what with (it)$_4$ (that is, for what purpose?')

kín$_1$ mɛ́ dɛ$_2$ gɔ̨́y$_3$ ná. 'Now$_1$ don't do$_2$ that$_3$'

nɛ$_1$ ɛ́rɛ́$_2$ si ʔdoŋ$_3$ wen kɔ́$_4$ ʔnáŋ mɔ$_5$ mbéa ʔbɔ$_6$ ná 'and$_1$ we$_2$ won't return$_3$ again$_6$ for$_4$ evil things$_5$'

(2) Preceding perfective verbs in environments other than those already described. For example:

wá$_1$ gboà$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$ 'they've$_1$ all$_3$ arrived$_2$'
wéndé gan$_1$ wá$_2$ dɛá ze$_3$ kpém$_4$ 'or$_1$ they$_2$ were (there) one$_4$ month$_3$'
mɛ́$_1$ sɔkà$_2$ sɔ́n á$_3$ mɛ́ dɛá bisa$_4$ gɔ́ɔ$_5$ 'you've$_1$ matured$_2$, so$_3$ here$_5$ you are an adolescent boy$_4$'
ndɛ́ wá$_1$ tɛá$_2$ 'they're going$_1$ to come$_2$'
gan ɔ́ mɔ́ wá$_1$ dɛ́á$_2$ ná 'it's not for them$_1$ (that is, their responsibility) to do$_2$'

382.113. Pronominal suffixes. These are to be compared with the free form common pronouns discussed in 382.11. The classification used there is used here also in describing the following nonsubjectival and subjectival pronominal suffixes, the latter of which have high and low tone allomorphs.

(a) Nonsubjectival pronominal suffixes. They occur for the persons 1S, 3S, and 2P.

(1) 1S has allomorphs -V́m and -m. The suffix -V́m (the vowel of which is the same as whatever vowel precedes it) occurs following a consonant and following a vowel with low tone when not followed by a free form with initial high tone. The suffix -m occurs following vowels except under the conditions stated for -V́m, that is, following a vowel with high tone or low tone, but being followed by a free form with high tone. There is however some degree of free variation between the two suffixes when followed by a free form with high tone.

Examples of -V́m following V:
tɛɛ́m$_1$ yųmɔ́ 'my body$_1$ aches$_2$'
ndɛ́ wá$_1$ gbɛɛ́m$_2$ 'they are going$_1$ to kill me$_2$'
íniím 'with me,' compare ín wa 'with them'
Examples of -V́m following C:
ą zɔ́kɔ́m 'he sees me,' compare ą zɔ́k wa 'he sees them'
ą ɔ̨́rɔ́m 'he deceives me,' compare ɔ̨́ɔ́ wa 'deceives them'
ą kíʔdím 'he's looking for me,' compare ą kíʔdí wa 'he's looking for them'
rííím 'my face,' compare ríp wa 'their faces'
Examples of -m:
ʔbiyám 'my friend,' compare ʔbiya-rɛ́ 'our friend'
tɛm yų́m 'my body aches'
yą́ kɔ́m 'my brother,' compare yą́ kɔ́ wa 'their brother'
á mɛ́ gbɛm ná 'don't kill me'
wá ɔ̨rám 'they deceived me'

(2) 3S has allomorphs -aa and -áa. They occur following consonants: -áa occurs when preceded by a low tone in a noun; -aa occurs when preceded by high tone in a noun and either high or low in a verb, replacing imperfective -i if it occurs. For example:

ɛrɛ ɔ̨́raa 'we are deceiving him'
ndɛ́ rɛ́ rįkaa 'we are going to hit him'
ɛrɛ kíʔdaa (< kíʔdí + -aa) 'we are looking for him'

gɛ́raa 'his neck,' compare gɛ́ɛ́-wa 'their necks'
rífaa 'his face'

(3) 2P has allomorphs -V́í, -́í, and -í. The suffix -V́í occurs following consonants, -́í occurs with polysyllabic nouns following a vowel, and -í occurs following vowels elsewhere.

Examples of -V́í: wa ɔ̧̂rɔ́í 'they are deceiving you,' wa kɔ̧̂ ʔdoŋ-́rįkíí 'they want to hit you,' gɛ́rɛ́í 'your necks,' zɔ̧fɔ́í 'your noses.'

Examples of -́í: zɛráí 'your ears,' ʔbiyáí 'your friends.'

Examples of -í: tɛí 'your bodies,' ínií 'with you,' tuwa kɔ́í 'your house,' nɛ́ gbɛí 'is going to kill you,' ɛ́rɛ́ kiʔdóí 'we looked for you,' wa kíʔdíí 'they are looking for you.'

(b) Subjectival suffixes. See also 423.1.

(1) Low tone suffixes occur for 1S, 3S, and 2P.

1S has allomorphs -Vm, -m, and -̀m.[37] The suffix -̀m occurs following the imperfective suffix -i (and indicates the lowering of its tone to low if it is not already that). The suffix -Vm occurs following vowels in other imperfective verbs which have zero suffix (instead of -i) as well as following consonants. The suffix -m follows vowels elsewhere.[38] These suffixes are analyzed as being the subjects of an immediately following verb even when they are phonologically bound to a preceding verb. They are identified in the following examples by a preposed plus sign.

Examples of -Vm:

nɛm$_1$ nɛ́+ɛm$_2$ bá$_3$ ą$_4$ 'and I$_1$ went (and) I$_2$ got$_3$ him$_4$'
nɛm$_1$ háy+am$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ 'and I$_1$ went$_3$ on crawling$_2$'
go$_1$ pér+em$_2$ rį́ŋ nu$_3$ 'so$_1$ I came$_2$ (and) fell down$_3$'
bóm$_1$ dųŋ+um wá$_2$ tɛndɛ$_3$ 'as I$_1$ was hoeing$_2$ (the) cotton$_3$'

Examples of -m:

ám$_1$ nɛá+m$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ mɛ$_4$ 'I$_1$ went (and) I$_2$ slept$_3$ there$_4$'
gá ye+m$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ '(he said) that I$_1$ should come$_2$'
nɛ+m$_1$ bɛ̧à$_2$ tí$_3$ 'and I$_1$ refused$_2$ before$_3$'
tɛ+m$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ nɛ mbóro$_3$ 'that I$_1$ should come$_2$ in the afternoon$_3$'
gende gá+m$_1$ zɔ́k$_2$ wa$_3$ 'in other words, I$_1$ saw$_2$ them$_3$'

3S suffix -aa occurs following consonants. For example:

dų́ŋ+aa$_1$ háy$_2$ wa$_3$ 'he's still$_1$ crawling up on$_2$ them$_3$'
gan+aa$_1$ zɔ́k$_2$ wa$_3$ ná$_1$ 'he doesn't$_1$ see$_2$ them$_3$'

2P has allomorphs -Vi, -i, -í (and possibly -̀i on the same basis as -̀m). The suffix -Vi occurs following consonants; -i occurs following vowels with low tone and with high tone (as in the case of -Vm) only in imperfective verbs with zero suffix; -í occurs following vowels with high tone in all other words (that is, perfective verbs and nonverbs). For example:

ganai$_1$ tɛ$_2$ zɛ́ɛ$_3$ ná$_1$ 'you didn't$_1$ come$_2$ yesterday$_3$'
nɛ́í$_1$ yarai$_2$ yɔ̧ŋ$_3$ dɛ́á saa$_4$ kɔ́í$_5$ 'you are going to$_1$ run around$_2$ (and) eat$_3$ your$_5$ play$_4$' (that is, 'all you will have to eat is your play')
go$_1$ tɛ́i$_2$ sí$_3$ 'so$_1$ come$_2$ (and) return$_3$'
weséa nɛ bó$_1$ dųŋui$_2$ yaa$_3$ 'when you$_1$ continue$_2$ to run around$_2$'

(2) High tone suffixes occur for 1S and 2P. They are -m and -í respectively, and they occur following vowels. For example:

é hám$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ sɛ́$_3$ 'let me$_1$ go$_2$ first$_3$'

tɛ́m$_1$ kpa$_2$ wa$_3$ wéndé. 'Can I possibly$_1$ find$_2$ them$_3$?'

gende gám$_1$ nɛà$_2$ kɔ́m 'in other words, I$_1$ had gone$_2$'

á$_1$ nɛám$_2$ fe$_3$ sɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'then$_1$ I would have$_2$ died$_3$ today$_4$'

rɛmà mɔ́í$_1$ dɛ$_2$ gére$_3$ 'you are able$_1$ to do$_2$ (it) easily$_3$'

dɛà ré ge só kóí dɛ́ gɔ̨́y 'what do you mean by doing this !'

382.12. The explicit pronouns are S ɛ̨́ and P órό. Like the common pronouns, their allomorphs are described in terms of two sets, nonsubjectival and subjectival, and everything said above about these sets is applicable to the explicit pronouns. In addition to the allomorphs of the plural already described, óró and ró, there is óó which may occur wherever subjectival óró does. Although the explicit pronouns are not formally distinguished for person (first, second, or third persons), they are in practice used most frequently for third person. As the pronoun chart indicates, there are no explicit pronouns for the first person. This simply means that in talking about himself, a person makes use of no other pronouns than the common set. In reported speech, the use of 'I' in translation is therefore misleading: that is, there is no difference in Gbɛya between 'you said you would go' and 'you said "I will go."' What was said about the use of plural pronouns for politeness is applicable to the explicit pronouns. The explicit pronouns are used in quotations (where the person referred to is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence) and wherever else the pronominal reference must be unambiguous.[39] The examples are grouped accordingly.

382.121. Explicit pronouns in quotations:

gá ye ge$_1$, káy$_2$ toy$_3$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_4$ '(he said$_1$), "Get$_2$ my$_4$ things$_3$"'

mɛ$_1$ tɔ̨́ ye ge$_2$, nɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_3$ ha$_4$ túrú$_5$ hám$_6$ 'you$_1$ said$_2$ you would$_3$ give$_4$ clothes$_5$ to me$_6$'

foo$_1$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_2$ gan$_3$ góy$_4$ ɛ̨́$_5$ ná$_3$ '(she said) her$_2$ inlaws$_1$ did not$_3$ like$_4$ her$_5$'

wen kɔ́ mɔ nɛ$_1$ óró$_2$ koà$_3$ bém$_4$ kó ró$_5$ '(they said) because$_1$ they$_2$ bore$_3$ their$_5$ child$_4$' (among the Gbɛya the husband and his family can speak of 'giving birth' as well as the mother)

mɛ́$_1$ ye$_2$ ɛ̨́$_3$ nɛ̨ ɛ̨ ɔ́$_4$ nɛ wí-dɛ yɔ̨́ná$_5$ 'you$_1$ say$_2$ (that) you$_3$ are$_4$ a producer of food$_5$'

382.122. Explicit pronouns for clarity:

kam$_1$ gan$_2$ bá$_3$ mɔ$_4$ há zu-wí-ré$_5$ ná$_2$ go wí-ré a bá toy$_6$ há zuˊʔbiya$_7$-ɛ̨́ só kó ʔbiyaˊą ɔ́m tɛ̨-ɛ̨́$_8$. 'Food$_1$ does not$_2$ take$_3$ things$_4$ off a person's head$_5$, but it's a person who takes off a burden$_6$ from his friend's$_7$ head so that his friend can rest$_8$.' (a proverb)

wí-ré$_1$ bó$_2$ ko$_3$ bém$_4$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_5$ 'when$_2$ a person$_1$ gives birth to$_3$ his$_5$ child$_4$'

ó ŋmaa$_1$ yɔ̨́ŋ$_2$ kó ró yɔ̨́ŋi nɛ́$_3$ gogo-ró$_4$ 'some$_1$ chew$_2$ (it) with$_3$ their own teeth$_4$'

ó ŋmaa nɛ$_1$ gan zéé$_2$ tɛ-rò ná 'those who$_1$ don't obey' (= 'hear$_2$ their bodies')

ó sɔ́kái$_1$ kɔ̨́m$_2$ zįfa$_3$ kó ró$_4$ 'the elders$_1$ break off$_2$ their$_4$ switches$_3$'

382.2. Demonstrative substitutes. These are distinguished for relative distance from the speaker. Although the basic implication is a spatial one, a temporal one may be implied. The distinction is not always identifiable with the nonlinguistic world (compare the use of English 'this' and 'that'). These substitutes are ɛ̨ɛ́ 'this' and įí 'that,' the second tones of which are often (but not necessarily) low when followed by an initial high tone in another word. The demonstratives may somehow be related to the bound morphemes {-ɛ} and -i4, but no formal identification seems possible at the moment.[40] (See 213.2 also.) For example:

zoro$_1$-́ɛ̨ɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ gan$_3$ dɛ́ rɔ̨ɔ$_4$ ná$_3$ 'this$_2$ fish$_1$ doesn't$_3$ taste good$_4$'
ám$_1$ gbɛá$_2$ ɛ̨ɛ̀$_3$ gɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'I$_1$ have killed$_2$ these$_3$ here$_4$'
ɛ̨ɛ́$_1$ rɛmà$_2$ rɛ́$_3$ 'this$_1$ is enough$_2$ for us$_3$'
bó$_1$ wá$_2$ rįk$_3$ įí$_4$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ hit$_3$ those$_4$'
įí$_1$ nɛ baá gaza kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́i$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ 'that one who$_1$ has been circumcised$_2$ comes$_3$'

382.3. Interrogative substitutes. These are o (and indóo) 'who?,' ge 'what?,' and ré ge (occasionally yé ge) 'how much, how many?' (a) The substitute o 'who?' is distinguished from ge and ré ge by the fact that it can occur as the head of substitute phrases and in construction with prepositions whereas the others cannot. (b) The form indóo occurs too infrequently in my data to permit making accurate statements about it. It is very likely, however, that it is bimorphemic, consisting of o and some other as yet unidentified morpheme. (c) The phrase ré ge is used as an exclamation when it occurs in a sentence containing the verb dɛ 'to do, make' with the meaning 'by what means! how in the world!' etc. (d) Although the phrase ré ge obviously contains the interrogative ge, it is not yet possible to attribute a meaning to ré itself.[41] Its contrast with ge is seen in the following constructions: saʔde-́ge 'what animal?' saʔde ré ge 'how many animals?' For example:

ɔ́$_1$ nɛ́ o$_2$ ndé 'who$_2$ is$_1$ (it)?'
o$_1$ á tɔ̨à$_2$ há mɛ́$_3$ o$_1$ ndé 'who$_1$ told$_2$ you$_3$?'
ɛ̨ɛ̀$_1$ nɛ́ ge$_2$ ndé 'what$_2$ (is) this$_1$?'
ge wí-ge$_1$ a mɛ$_2$ tɔ̨́ nɛ́$_3$ ge ndé 'whom$_1$ (= what person) are you$_2$ speaking of$_3$?'
ge wen-́ge$_1$ a mɛ$_2$ tɛ́ bɔlɔ́m$_3$ ge ndé 'why$_1$ (= what affair) are you$_2$ following me$_3$?'
zu-́wa ré ge a wa gɔ́m te ge ndé 'how many of them are cutting wood?' (= 'their heads how many they are cutting wood what?')
tɛ́m$_1$ dɛ$_2$ nɛ kɔ́m ré ge gáá ge$_3$ 'what in the world$_3$ shall I$_1$ ever do$_2$!'
am$_1$ dɛ́ kpém kɔ̨-́sɛra$_2$ ín mɛ́$_3$ ná ré ge ndé$_4$. 'What do you mean$_4$—I$_1$ don't treat$_2$ you$_3$ nicely!'

382.4. Numerative substitutes. These are listed below. The phrases for 6 and 7 are ellipses for mɔ̨ɔrɔ́, ʔdoŋ kpém, and mɔ̨ɔrɔ́ ʔdoŋ rííto respectively. That is, 6 means 'five (and) behind (it) one.' The phrases for 20 through 90 are literally 'two (etc.) bunches' < hɛ̨r- 'to tie up.' The phrases for hundreds and thousands are 'cut some' and 'stab some' respectively. The units are generally introduced by the word zúa 'the head, on top of it.' A unit number in the hundreds and thousands, when not preceded by another unit number, is generally preceded by the word nɛ 'and.' The decades are generally preceded by nɛ 'and' when included in a larger phrase. The phrase féá za ('dead za') was reported for 'a dozen,' but I never heard it used. The meaning of za has not been determined.

1	kpém
2	rííto
3	taa, tar-
4	ną́á, ną́r-
5	mɔ̧ɔrɔ́
6	ʔdoŋ kpém
7	ʔdoŋ rííto
8	nú-ną́á (possibly = 'mouth of four')
9	kusi
10	ʔbú (possibly < 'to clap')
11	ʔbú zúa kpém
20	hɛ̧́rá rííto
27	hɛ̧́rá rííto zúa ʔdoŋ-rííto
100	gɔm ŋmaá
107	gɔm ŋmaá nɛ zúa ʔdoŋ rííto
200	gɔm ŋmaà rííto
777	gɔm ŋmaá ʔdoŋ rííto nɛ hɛ̧́rá ʔdoŋ rííto zúa ʔdoŋ rííto
1000	dųm ŋmaá

382.5. Locative substitutes. These are listed below and illustrated. Because two of them are roughly translated 'here' and four of them 'there,' the following comments are necessary: dį́i 'here' is opposed to dį́i 'there' (see also 213.2), and na 'here' is opposed to mɛ 'there.' The first pair refer to a place with more preciseness than the second pair. The word íyɛ 'there' seems to refer to a general direction, rather than place, removed from the speaker. The word sɛnɛ́, on the other hand, has the meaning 'there' in the sense of the French 'y.' In spite of this semantic classification, it is very probable that there is considerable overlapping and stylistic selection. For example:

dį́yɛ 'here': ɛrɛ$_1$ kúú$_2$ zu-́ture$_3$ dį́yɛ nɔ́ɔ$_4$ ʔnɛ́ŋ$_5$ 'we$_1$ departed$_2$ (from) here$_4$ very early$_5$ in the morning$_3$,' bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ gbo$_3$ sɛn-́tɛ-kúú-wáam$_4$ sɛn-́tɛ-dį́yɛ$_5$ tɛ-nú-ré kɛ́ rɛ́$_6$ na$_7$ dɔ̧́ɔ́$_8$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ arrived$_3$ at (the) other side of the Wáam$_4$ here$_5$, at the edge of our village$_6$ here$_7$ closeby$_8$'

dį́i 'there': gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ ɔ́m tɛ-rɛ̀$_3$ dį́i$_4$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ rested$_3$ there$_4$'

íyɛ 'there': bó$_1$ laŋgi$_2$ kó ró kpɛ́kɛ́rɛ́$_3$ tɛ-íyɛ$_4$ gáa$_5$ 'as$_1$ (he) was going on ahead$_2$ there$_4$ slowly$_3$ like that$_5$,' hɔá$_1$ saŋa-́tei$_2$ . . . íyɛ$_3$ '(the tusk) appeared$_1$ between the trees there$_3$'

mɛ 'there': gan am$_1$ rɛ́m$_2$ wen kó nɛ$_3$ tɛ-ré$_4$ mɛ$_5$ ná 'I$_1$ can't$_2$ go$_3$ to (the) village$_4$ there$_5$,' ó wí-ré$_1$ bó$_2$ nɛ$_3$ tɛ-tɛ-́ą$_4$ mɛ 'when$_2$ people$_1$ go$_3$ to him$_4$ there,' ą$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ ínaa$_3$ mɛ 'he$_1$ stays$_2$ with him$_3$ there'

na 'here': wa$_1$ káy$_2$ wa$_3$ ʔmɔ́n$_4$ ré$_5$ na 'they$_1$ take$_2$ them$_3$ right$_4$ (in the) village$_5$ here,' mɛ́$_1$ ɔá$_2$ nu$_3$ na '(if) you$_1$ were$_2$ here (on the) ground$_3$'

ŋgɔ́n 'up, on top, above': dų́ŋ$_1$ sɛn-tɛ$_2$-́sara$_3$-́teí$_4$ nɛ sɛra-zu-́ą$_5$ ŋgɔ́n$_6$ mɛ$_7$ '(he) sat$_1$ in$_2$ the fork$_3$ of the tree$_4$ above him$_5$ up$_6$ there$_7$,' feá$_1$ tɛ-ŋgɔ́n$_2$ '(it) died$_1$ upright$_2$ (that is, before hitting the ground)

sɛnɛ́ 'there': a̧$_1$ dų́ŋ$_2$ sɛnɛ̀$_3$ ín$_4$ wa$_5$ 'he$_1$ stays$_2$ with$_4$ them$_5$ there$_3$,'
ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ yá$_3$ tɛ-́sɛnɛ́$_4$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ were$_3$ there$_4$'

382.6. Temporal substitutes. These, for the reasons given below, are divided into two classes. They are the following: (class A) bɛrɛ 'dry season,' dįmísi (< Fr. 'dimanche') 'Sunday, week,' mbóro 'evening, afternoon,' ʔmaa 'rainy season,' pɛ 'year (consisting of one cycle of rainy and dry seasons),' ture 'morning,' and zɛ 'night'; (class B) bár- 'last year,' bin 'tomorrow,' kín 'now,' and sɔ́ɔ 'today.' This classification is based both on formal and semantic characteristics. The words in class A might be said to refer to "real" time whereas those in class B refer to "relative" time. The words in the former can be correlated with time distinguished by seasons and meteorological conditions, but those in the latter have no such specific referents. (If such semantic distinctions are not consistently valid, they at least serve as mnemonic aids to remembering the formal distinctions.) Class A words have the greatest freedom of occurrence. As a class they occur with adjectives, in noun + noun constructions, second member in prepositional phrases, as subjects of verbs, and with the suffix {-ɛ} (for which see 213.22). (The word zɛ 'night' can even function as an intimate noun.) Class B words occur most often with the suffix {-ɛ}. The words báraa 'last year' and sɔ́ɔ (or sɔ́ɔ́) 'today' occur only in these forms, and I assume hypothetical bases *bár- and *sɔ́. It is in the suffixed forms that they then occur with nɔ́ɔ 'this,' as subjects of verbs, and in prepositional phrases, although bin 'now' occurs once in the data in a prepositional phrase in this form. Further data might, however, reveal a greater freedom of occurrence.

Class A:
bɛrɛ$_1$ dɛá$_2$ '(it) has become$_2$ dry season$_1$'
rɛ́m wen kó dįmísi ríito 'for about two weeks'
mbóro nɛ mɛ tɛ́ 'come in the afternoon'
wí-ré$_1$ gan yáá$_2$ yarí$_3$ zaŋ-́ʔmaa$_4$ ná 'people$_1$ don't go$_2$ hunting$_3$ in (the) rainy season$_4$'
mbé pɛ ʔdoŋɛ$_1$ sɛ́ tɛ mɛ péé ʔdoŋ$_2$ 'come back$_2$ next year$_1$'
ám$_1$ zɔká$_2$ a̧$_3$ nɛ́ ture$_4$ 'I$_1$ saw$_2$ him$_3$ in the morning$_4$'
zɛɛ́m ɔá taa 'I spent three nights' (= 'my nights were three')

Class B:
wá$_1$ dɔà$_2$ réi$_3$ báraa$_4$ 'they$_1$ burned down$_2$ the village$_3$ last year$_4$'
bin sɛ́ tɛ mɛ tɛ́ 'come tomorrow'
binɛ́ɛ$_1$ įŋɔ́$_2$ wen kó$_3$ bin$_4$ 'tomorrow$_1$ knows$_2$ about$_3$ tomorrow$_4$' (a saying)
ŋma mɔ kín$_1$ gan nɛ́$_2$ dɛ$_3$ mɛ̀$_4$ ná 'now$_1$ nothing will$_2$ harm$_3$ you$_4$'
sɔ́ɔ nɔ́ɔ gɛnɛ nɛ́ kpa wa 'they are going to receive guests today' (= 'today guest going find them')

382.7. Reciprocal substitute. The only one is ŋmaá 'each other, together,' and it occurs only in verb and prepositional phrases as an objective complement.[42] For example:
wa$_1$ ték$_2$ ín ŋmaá 'they$_1$ fall$_2$ together (that is, they meet)'
wa yá nɛ yą́ kɔ́ ŋmaá 'they are siblings' (= 'siblings of each other')
gan wa zéé wen kɔ́ ŋmaà ná 'they don't understand each other'

biro$_1$-́gbɛ$_2$ ŋmaá 'war$_1$ to kill$_2$ each other'
mɛ sɛ́n ŋmaà ín yá̰ kɔ́ mɛ́ wéndé. 'Do you and your brother hate each other?' (= 'you hate each other with sibling of you')

382.8. Quantitative substitutes. These are dɔ́ka 'much, many' and sɔ́n 'all.' They occur only as attributes of substantives and in verb phrases, such as:

dɔ́ka 'much, many' (< dɔk 'to be much, many'): ŋma wen kɔ́m dɔ́ka gan bó ná 'I don't have much to say' (= 'some word of me much is not'), kéey dɛà rɛ́ dɔ́ka 'we were very much afraid,' bɔnɔ-náŋ-wa ɔ́ dɔ́ka 'there were a lot of their tracks' (= 'tracks their are much')

sɔ́n 'all' (< sɔn 'to finish, be finished'): ó wí-ré$_1$ hárá sɔ́n$_2$ mɔ̰́y$_3$ 'all$_2$ (the) people$_1$ meet$_3$,' wa sɔ́n, wa nɛ́ tɛ-́sɛnɛ́ 'they all, they go there,' ɛrɛ nɛ́ kusára sɔ́n 'we all went to work' (= 'we go work all'), dạy-́gaza sɔnà sɔ́n '(the) circumcision wound is all healed'

390. Verbs. Verbs are those words which are distinguished by having the following characteristics: (1) They occur with the following four suffixes: imperfective {-i$_1$}, emphatic -i$_2$, nominalizer {-i$_3$}, and the perfective {-á}.[43] (2) They occur immediately following a certain class of pronouns (such as am tɛ́ 'I am coming' : ám tɛá 'I came'), for which see 382.112; and (3) they can, when following pause, precede descriptive adverbs which are followed by pause (such as tɛ́ lám 'come quickly').

A verb form devoid of its suffix is called a base. (A verb always occurs with one, and only one, of the four suffixes. The base is therefore a bound form. Other suffixes may occur, but only after certain ones of these four.) The verb bases occur either with high or low tone(s). Certain patterns characterize their union with the suffixes. They are listed below, with B-́ representing a high bone base and B- a low tone base. The verbs used by way of examples are nɛ 'to go,' ki?d- 'to look for,' per- 'to return (here),' laŋg- 'to pass on,' and si 'to return (there).'

(a) B-́ plus emphatic -i$_2$: nɛ́i, kí?di, péri
(b) B- plus nominalizer {-i$_3$}: nɛi, ki?di, laŋgi, peri, sii
(c) B-́ plus imperfective {-i$_2$}: nɛ́, kí?dí, péé, sí
(d) B- plus imperfective {-i$_1$}: nɛ, ki?di, pee, si
(e) B-́ plus perfective {-á}: nɛ́á, kí?dó, pérá, síó
(f) B- plus perfective {-á}: nɛá, ki?dó, perá, sió

(a) and (b) are homophonous only when a verb base is involved which takes the allomorph -i of the imperfective. It should be noted that in (c) and (d) the tone of the imperfective suffix is low or high, depending on the tone of the base; it is basically toneless.

A summary of the distinctive distributions of these forms are illustrated below:

(a) ám hɛà hɛ́i 'I bought it (that is, someone didn't give it to me)'—hɛá is perfective, hɛ́i intensive.[44]
(b) gan ạ ḭ́ŋ wen kó nɛi kɔ́m ná 'he didn't know about my going'—nɛi is in prepositional phrase, complement of noun wen 'affair.'
(c) am nɛ́ kínɛɛ 'I'm going now'—nɛ́ is predicate.

(d) nɛ́m nɛ sɔ́ɔ 'I'm going to go today'—nɛ is predicate in dependent clause with -m as its subject.

(e) nɛ́á nɔ ką́ ą gan rɛ́m ná 'there's no equal to his walk'—nɛ́á is attributive to the noun nɔ 'walk.'

(f) ám nɛà zɛ́ɛ 'I went yesterday'—nɛá is predicate.

These forms (base plus suffix) are called free forms. (c) through (f) inclusive figure prominently in the syntax of the language and are treated in 393. Before that are the sections on allomorphy (391) and additional affixation (392). Finally, there is a section on classes of verbs (394).

391. Verb base allomorphs. These are distinguished by the fact that one set has two shapes, namely CVr- (where r represents the phoneme /r/) which occurs with vowel suffixes, and CVV which occurs elsewhere. This allomorphy has already been described under morphophonemics, 132.1. Bases ending in CV or CVC (where the second C represents any consonant other than /r/) have only one allomorph.

392. Suffixation to the free form. With such forms, occur subjectival or objectival suffixes (382.113) or the determinant suffix {-a} (213.1).[45] For example:

nɛm háyam nɛ́ 'and I went on crawling' (= 'and-I crawl-I go')
wá ɔ̨rám 'they deceived me' (< ɔ̨rá plus -m)
zɛ́ɛ́ hųría '(they) hear about the news (< hųri plus {-a})
gúnɔ́a 'the planting' (< gúnɔ́ plus {-a})

393. Distribution of high and low tone forms. These are discussed according to whether they are imperfective (393.1) or perfective (393.2).

393.1. Imperfective forms. Just because some of the occurrences of imperfective verbs are translated into English in phrases introduced by "to" is certainly no reason why this form of the verb should be described as the "infinitive." Even the high tone base with the perfective is similarly translated. There is just no "infinitive" in Gbɛya.

393.11. Low tone imperfective forms are used in the following seven ways:

393.111. As substantives in exocentric verb phrases. For example:

ą$_1$ dɛ́$_2$ sɛn mɔ$_3$ dɛ́i 'he$_1$ does$_2$ spiteful things$_3$' (sɛn 'to hate')
teŋ nu 'a fall' (tek 'to fall')

393.112. As verb phrase complements of nouns and verbs.

(a) Complements of nouns. (See noun phrases, 411.25.) For example:

ʔdoŋ-wáá$_1$-nɛ$_2$ fɔ$_3$ bó$_4$ ná$_5$ 'there is$_4$ no$_5$ possibility$_1$ of going$_2$ (to the) garden$_3$'
gan rɛ$_1$ kpá$_2$ ŋmaa$_3$ wen$_4$-́gbɛ$_5$ kpém ná 'we$_1$ didn't find$_2$ any$_3$ at all to$_4$ kill$_5$'

(b) Complements of verbs. (See verb phrases, 414.31.) For example:

am nɛ́$_1$ zoy ri$_2$ 'I'm going$_1$ to take a bath$_2$'
rɛ́m$_1$ tɔ̨ wen$_2$ 'is able$_1$ to talk$_2$'
gan ą$_1$ į́ŋ$_2$ tɔ̨ wen$_3$ ná 'he doesn't know how$_2$ to talk$_3$'

393.113. In clausal complements of auxiliary verbs. When this verb is itself an auxiliary verb or a verb of motion, it too is followed by a low tone imperfective verb.[46] For example:

kóoi$_1$ bó$_2$ zɔk$_3$ 'when$_2$ the girls$_1$ look$_3$'
dų́ŋ$_1$ wá$_2$ yɔ̨ŋ$_3$ mɔ 'while$_1$ they$_2$ are eating$_3$'
ŋmaa fį́í$_1$ nɛ$_2$ nɛà$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ kpa fey 'just a little more$_1$ and$_2$ we$_4$ would have$_3$ died' (= 'find death)
wí-ré tɛá ɔ dɔ́k 'if there were many people'
bó$_1$ nɛ$_2$ yoo$_3$ mɛ$_4$ 'when$_1$ (he) went$_2$ (and) stood$_3$ there$_4$'
bó$_1$ dųŋ$_2$ yɔ̨ŋ$_3$ mɔ$_4$ 'if$_1$ (they) continue$_2$ to eat$_3$ things$_4$'
nɛ́ nɛ ą hee kɔ̨wá 'he's going to go (and) cry' (= 'go go he cry tears')

393.114. In a few constructions where one would expect an auxiliary verb.[47] For example:

gan árɛ́$_1$ ŋgɛm$_2$ kpásá saʔde$_3$ ná 'we won't$_1$ keep$_2$ (the) meat itself$_3$'
bó$_1$ pee ʔdoŋ$_2$ gɔ̨́y, nɛm$_3$ bɛ̨́$_4$ kɔ́m, pee ʔdoŋ gɔ̨́y, nɛm bɛ̨́ kɔ́m 'if (he) should$_1$ come back$_2$, I$_3$ refuse$_4$; (if he) should come back, I refuse'
á zee$_1$ ye ŋma mɔ$_2$ bó yɔ̨ŋaa$_3$ '(should someone) hear$_1$ that something$_2$ ate him$_3$'
gó wan to gan dɛ$_1$ gɔ̨́y$_2$ ná 'if Wan-to had not done$_1$ this$_2$'
gɛ́ rɛ́$_1$ zɔk$_2$, gɛ́ rɛ́$_3$ kų$_4$ ri$_5$ 'when we$_1$ looked$_2$, when we$_3$ crossed$_4$ (the) stream$_5$'

393.115. In negated clauses with the meaning of perfective. The perfective does not, however, occur in negated clauses. For example:

nɛ́$_1$ tɔ̨$_2$ ye, gan ɛ̨$_3$ nɛ$_4$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ ná '(he) will$_1$ say$_2$ that he$_3$ didn't go$_4$'
gó$_1$ gan gɔn$_2$ kɔ́ʔdáa$_3$ ná 'and$_1$ didn't pay$_2$ the debt$_3$'

393.116. In negative commands:

naa$_1$ kó sáá mɔ, kín rįk$_2$ sáá mɔ ná 'Sáá-mɔ's mother (in direct address)$_1$, don't hit$_2$ Sáá-mɔ'
á mɛ́ nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná 'don't go and stand over them' (= 'you go you stand the-head not')

393.117. In verb phrases or clauses introduced by certain connectives, such as ką́á, wen kó, and mɔ́.

(a) Introduced by ką́á:

mɔ-́dɛ$_1$ gale-́zɔna$_2$ ką́á$_3$ dɛ ŋguʔdu-́zɔna$_4$ ná 'what harms$_1$ the crab's legs$_2$ will not long hence$_3$ harm the crab's shell$_4$' (proverb)
he mbɛ́rá-biro$_1$ ką́á$_2$ yu$_3$ biro$_4$ ná 'he who calls to war$_1$ will soon$_2$ flee$_3$ (the) battle$_4$' (proverb)

(b) Introduced by wen kó:

tɔ̨́$_1$ há pasitɛ́ɛr, wen kó$_2$ ba$_3$ ŋgombe$_4$ kó ró$_5$ 'tell$_1$ the pastor to$_2$ get$_3$ his$_5$ rifle$_4$'
nɛm$_1$ nɛ́$_2$, wen kó nɛm$_3$ kay$_4$ gbąra-́tɛndɛ$_5$ 'and I$_1$ went$_2$ to go$_3$ (and) get$_4$ cotton seeds$_5$'

(c) Introduced by mɔ́:

wí-ré$_1$ bó$_2$ nɛ$_3$ mɔ́$_4$ ba$_5$ mɔ́ e$_6$ zu-́fey$_7$ 'when$_2$ someone$_1$ goes$_3$ to$_4$ get$_5$ (it) to put$_6$ (it) on the grave$_7$'

393.12. High tone imperfective forms are used as predicates in major clauses in all other environments.

393.2. Perfective forms. Since in some environments only a high tone or low tone perfective form may occur whereas in other environments there seems to be free variation, the examples are presented in terms of these options.[48]

393.21. Low tone perfective forms alone occur as predicates of independent clauses. Examples of this use are numerous in this grammar. For example:

ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ kpaá$_2$ ŋma mɔ$_3$ 'we$_1$ found$_2$ something$_3$'
kuró$_1$ gɛ$_2$ rɛ$_3$ péé$_4$ nɛ́ tj̨i$_5$ '(we) set off$_1$ and$_2$ we$_3$ returned$_4$ by means of a canoe$_5$'

393.22. High tone perfective forms alone occur in the following environments:

(a) When the verb functions as a substantive, for which see 381.213b:
wa$_1$ úsí$_2$ sɔ́ká$_3$ hó wa$_4$ 'they$_1$ teach$_2$ them$_4$ wisdom$_3$' (< sɔk 'to mature')
gan rɛ$_1$ kpá$_2$ ŋma sa?de$_3$ kpém$_4$ wen kó$_5$ gbɛ́á$_6$ ná 'we$_1$ didn't find$_2$ a single$_4$ animal$_3$ to$_5$ kill$_6$'
(b) When the verb functions as an adjective, for which see 361.222a:
kpáá mɔ 'wealth' (= 'received things' < kpa 'to receive')
kórá zoro 'dried fish' (< kor- 'to dry up')
(c) When the verb follows an auxiliary and has the determinant suffix {-a}:
bó$_1$ wá$_2$ síóa$_3$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ returned$_3$'
zɛ́rɛ́$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ tɛ́áa$_3$ 'sickness$_1$ will$_2$ come$_3$'

393.23. Either low tone or high tone perfective forms occur in the following environments if they do not also occur with the suffix {-a}:

(a) When predicate in a clause which is complement to an auxiliary:
bóm$_1$ zerá$_2$ 'when I$_1$ heard$_2$'
bó rɛ́ gbóá 'when we arrived'
tǫ́k-tɛ-́wa$_1$ bó$_2$ ŋmą́yá$_3$ 'when$_2$ their blood$_1$ has ceased flowing$_3$'
(b) When complement to the noun heads wen 'word, to' and ?doŋ 'back, to':
yám$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$ he?dá$_3$ wen$_4$-́feá$_5$ 'my$_2$ father$_1$ is close$_3$ to$_4$ dying$_5$'
ɔ́$_1$ ŋgay$_2$ wen kɛ́$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ wen-nɛ́á$_5$ '(it) is$_1$ hard$_2$ for$_3$ us$_4$ to go$_5$'
gan am$_1$ kɔ̨́$_2$?doŋ-nɛ́á$_3$ ná 'I$_1$ don't want$_2$ to go$_3$'
(c) When head in a verb expression or predicate in a clause preceded by the connective mɔ́:
nɛ́ mɛ́$_1$ kpa$_2$ sa?de$_3$ mɔ́ mɛ́$_4$ si$_5$ mɔ́ mɛ́ yɔ̨́ŋá$_6$ 'you'll$_1$ find$_2$ animals$_3$ so you$_4$ (can) return$_5$ (and) eat$_6$ (the meat)'
tɛ́ nɛ́$_1$ há$_2$ yámbaa$_3$ mɔ́ nɔ́á$_4$ 'bring$_1$ (it) to$_2$ the father$_3$ to drink$_4$'

394. Classes of verbs. Three special classes of verbs are distinguished from the other verbs in the language for semantic or syntactic reasons. One class has opposing members which are called singular and plural verbs. The others are motion and auxiliary verbs.

394.1. Singular/plural verbs. The opposition is operative with certain transitive and intransitive verbs. In the latter it is the number of the subject (implied or explicit) which determines which verb will be used; in the former it is the object (implied or explicit). The following list is complete for the data; the singular verb is cited first: ɔ/ya 'to be,' hɔ/gbay 'to come out, appear,' ba/kay 'to seize, take,' e/a 'to put, set,' re/a 'to enter, go in,' pį/a 'to cast, throw.' For example:

am$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ gére$_3$ 'I$_1$ am$_2$ all right$_3$,' ɛrɛ yá gére 'we are all right'
pį́$_1$ nu$_2$ 'throw$_1$ (it on the) ground$_2$,' ą́ nu 'throw (them on the) ground'
bá ą 'grab him,' ką́y wa 'grab them'

394.2. Motion verbs. These are characterized not only by the fact that they denote some type of motion but also since they occur with pronominal suffixes which are the subjects of the verbs immediately following and since they occur in series (for which see 423.11). The most frequently used are the following: dų̧ŋ 'to sit, continue,' hay 'to crawl,' nɛ 'to go,' per- 'to return (to place of speaker),' si 'to return (to place away from speaker),' tɛ 'to come,' yar- 'to walk around, stroll,' yu 'to flee.'[49] For example:

nɛm$_1$ nɛ́ɛm$_2$ bą́$_3$ ą$_4$ ʔbɔ$_5$ 'and I$_1$ went (and) I$_2$ took$_3$ him$_4$ again$_5$'
nɛà$_1$ ndɔ́ɔ́$_2$ dila$_3$ '(he) went$_1$ (and) shot$_2$ a lion$_3$'

394.3. Auxiliary verbs. Their use is characterized by the following features: (1) They function as the heads of verb phrases or dependent clauses. (2) The dependent verbs occur either in low imperfective or high or low perfective forms (393.113; 393.22c; 393.23).[50] (3) The pronominal subject of such a dependent clause occurs with high tone(s) (382.113b); and (4) the auxiliaries themselves can occur with pronominal suffixes which function as the subjects of the following clause. The auxiliary itself, functioning as a predicate, can occur in both imperfective and perfective forms. There are three such auxiliary verbs: bo, nɛ, and tɛ, which are discussed in the following paragraphs.[51] The verb dų̧ŋ 'to sit' can also be included, but only on the basis of one example in our data: dų̧́ŋ wá$_1$ yɔ̧ŋ$_2$ mɔ, nɛ tɛ́$_3$ wa yóó$_4$ zu$_5$-́wa$_6$ ná 'should they$_1$ be eating$_2$, don't come$_3$ (and) stand$_4$ over$_5$ them$_6$.' For the alternant forms of the auxiliaries see 132.2.

394.31. bo (with phonologically defined allomorphs bo, bą, bɛ, and bɛ̧) is probably the same verb as the homonymous verb used in negated predications replacing ɔ 'to be.' Its most common meanings are those of possibility ('if, should,' etc.) and time ('when, while, after,' etc.). For example:

bó$_1$ wą́$_2$ ba$_3$ zɛmbɛ́ go$_4$ bó tɛ$_5$ wa$_6$ e$_7$ zu$_8$-́nuį́$_9$ 'when$_1$ they$_2$ take$_3$ the zɛmbɛ́ (fetish) and$_4$ when they$_6$ come$_5$ (and) put$_7$ (it) on$_8$ the ground$_9$'
mise$_1$ bó$_2$ dų̧ŋ$_3$ nu$_4$ 'while$_2$ Monsieur$_1$ was sitting$_3$ (on the) ground$_4$'
bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ nɛ$_3$ tɛ$_4$ bɛ́$_5$ rɛ́$_6$ gbóá$_7$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ went$_3$, and$_4$ when$_5$ we$_6$ arrived$_7$'
boá$_1$ nɛ$_2$ mɛ$_3$, nɛ$_4$ ye$_5$ 'if$_1$ (one) would go$_2$ there$_3$, and$_4$ (they) would say$_5$ . . . '

394.32. nɛ (with phonologically defined allomorphs nɛ, ną, nɛ̧, ndɛ, and ndo) is the verb 'to go.' As an auxiliary, it indicates future time, as with English 'going to . . . ,' or possible action (future with respect to some other action, and therefore translated 'if, when, would,' etc.). In some instances it seems synonymous with bo. The formal resemblance to the connective nɛ 'and' is fortuitous. Examples are:

ndɛ́$_1$ wá$_2$ hee kɔ̨wà$_3$ wéndé, gan$_4$ tɛ́ wá hee kɔ̨wà ná wéndé 'will$_1$ they$_2$ cry$_3$, or$_4$ won't they cry'

nɛ́m$_1$ si nɛ́$_2$ gɔ̨́y$_3$ há$_4$ madáam nɛ́$_5$ zɔká$_6$ 'I'm going$_1$ to take (it) back$_2$ like this$_3$ so that$_4$ Madame will$_5$ see$_6$ (it)'

wí-ré$_1$ nɛ́ zerá oro-ndú-ró$_2$ . . . , nɛ ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ dɛ$_5$ ą$_6$ ná 'the person$_1$ who has obeyed us$_2$, leprosy$_3$ will$_4$ not afflict$_5$ him$_6$'

gan nɛ́$_1$ nɛ$_2$ ą$_3$ hee kɔ̨wá$_4$ tí-ó dɛ́má wí-ré$_5$ mɛ$_6$ ná 'he$_3$ will$_1$ not go$_2$ (and) cry$_4$ in front of the people$_5$ there$_6$'

wan to gan dɛ$_1$ gɔ̨́y$_2$ ná nɛ wí-ré$_3$ gan nɛá$_4$ kpa$_5$ ri$_6$ mɔ́$_7$ nɔ$_8$ . . . ná 'if Wan-to had not done$_1$ this$_2$, people$_3$ would$_4$ not have found$_5$ water$_6$ to$_7$ drink$_8$'

394.33. tɛ (with phonologically defined allomorphs tɛ, tą, tɛ̨, and to) is the verb 'to come.' As an auxiliary it indicates probability in the past, present, or future, depending on the context. For example:

tɛ́ ɔ gɔ̨́y 'that's probably the way it is'

o$_1$ a tɛ́$_2$ ha$_3$ ŋmaa$_4$ hɛ́ rɛ́$_5$ o$_1$ 'who$_1$ can possibly$_2$ give$_3$ us$_5$ some$_4$?'

gɛ rɛ yɔ̨́ŋ$_1$ kam ná, nɛ tɛ́$_2$ rɛ́$_3$ fe$_4$ wɔ$_5$ 'if we don't eat$_1$, we$_3$ might$_2$ die$_4$ (of) hunger$_5$'

tą́ ą́ kųɔ́ 'he's probably crossed (the stream)'

wí-ré$_1$ tɛá ɔ$_2$ dɔ́k$_3$ wen-́toy$_4$ saʔde$_5$ sɛ́ 'if there were$_2$ many$_3$ people$_1$ to carry$_4$ (the) animal$_5$ (then we could do it)'

gba$_1$ kóo$_2$ óró$_3$ ndɔà$_4$ wéndé, nɛ tɛà$_5$ wá$_6$ gbɛ$_7$ ŋmaa kpém$_8$ '(they said) "Even if$_1$ we$_3$ had violated$_4$ a woman$_2$, they$_6$ could have$_5$ killed$_7$ just one$_8$"'

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] Syntactic terms employed in this chapter are defined under Syntax (Chapter Four).

[2] A considerably different classification, and one that I now prefer, would work with a class of Modifiers. It would include adjectivals (that is, adjectives), adverbials (that is, adverbs), and substitutes. The latter would be comprised of the demonstratives (382.2), the interrogatives (382.3), the numeratives (382.4), and the quantitatives (382.8). The substantive class would also be altered so that the nominatives would be represented not only by common nouns (381), but also by locative nouns (382.5), temporal nouns (382.6), and the reciprocal noun (382.5). The latter three are now considered special types of substitutes. This change would leave only the personal pronouns coordinated with the nominatives (382.1).

[3] The glottal stop seems to be distinctive in some interjections; in others there seems to be free variation with zero.

[4] There may very likely be some historical connection between wa and wá, and even now some of their areas of meaning overlap. Since their formal (tonal) and semantic difference can not at the present be explained, they are separated.

[5] Its function seems to overlap that of há with which it may even be related historically, but these forms are now best analyzed as separate morphemes.

[6] The examples in (a) and (b) are not meant to be parallel contrasts. Affirmative commands in direct address have the form (Subject) + Verb. Thus, (mɛ) tɛ́ '(you) come.' In some instances the verb e 'to put, leave' and the connective há function somewhat like the English hortative 'let's,' but in Gbɛya the literal meaning is more explicit. Thus, é há kéey dɛ́ mɛ́ ná 'don't be afraid' (= 'let fear do you not'), é hɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́ 'let's go' (= 'permit us to go'). Perhaps there is some connection between this use of e and the use of á in the negative commands, for (1) at Boguila é is used where the Gbɛya use á, and (2) one sentence occurs in the data where a low tone verb follows é, which is what usually occurs with á in negative commands. Thus, é kpaà sɔ́n, ndɛ rɛ nɛ́ sɛnɛ́ 'when all have found (the place in the book), then we'll begin.'

[7] Sometimes the adjective ɲɔ́ɔ 'this' occurs as attribute of the noun mɔ 'thing' without adding anything to the meaning of the construction. There is no doubt that this connective is related to and in fact historically derived from the use of the word wen 'affair' as an attribute to the verb head in verb phrases. Some of the utterances containing wen kó mɔ nɛ might still be analyzed in this way; the presence of the conjunction nɛ 'and,' which ordinarily is in construction with the following and not preceding construction, lends weight to this analysis. But (1) because of the types of constructions which precede wen kó mɔ nɛ (and which can not precede wen and its complements), and (2) because of the frequent pauses both before and after wen kó mɔ nɛ, I take this whole construction as equivalent in over-all function to the other connectives, allowing that other kinds of analyses are possible.

[8] Once the various morphologically defined allomorphs are given, the morphemes shall be referred to by these cover symbols. Certain allomorphic alternations affecting all but wéndé gan are described in 132.2.

[9] The analysis of the connectives á, {a}, and há is not as neat as one should like it, and the explanation may be that I have found their use at a time of rapid change. If they are indeed a single morpheme, I have not found the unifying factors. It is of interest to note that in the dialect of Carnot a and ha (as written by Hilberth) serve "à conjuger les verbes au conditionnel et au subjonctif; dans les phrases affirmatives il sert à exprimer qu'une action est terminée au moment où l'on parle" (1952, p. 7).

[10] Among the few occurrences of á which resemble há in meaning is the following:

wa$_1$ nɛ́ ɲɛ́$_2$ ŋginza$_3$ á$_4$ wá háá$_5$ nɛ$_6$ kóoi$_7$ 'they$_1$ take$_2$ (the) money$_3$ and$_4$ [perhaps, 'to'] pay$_5$ for$_6$ the girl$_7$.'

[11] As in the third example, the preposition {ín} 'with' very often connects two substantive expressions before the connective nɛ occurs.

[12] The noun phrase with mɔ 'thing' as its head is commonly used to connect a clause with a preceding clause. It may very well be that óró mɔ nɛ . . . gá is becoming an equivalent connective.

[13] I suspect that there is some historical relationship between the sɛ́ of the connective sɛ́ tɛ and the só of só kó. As evidence, witness the fact that sɛ́ has a distribution somewhat independent of sɛ́ tɛ and that phonemically só is set off from kó by open juncture which prevents the former from being assimilated to the latter in vowel quality or nasalization (for which see 132.2). In the related Ngbaka language, according to Eugene A. Nida (Learning a Foreign Language, 1950), sɛ̄ is used in a statement "made in reply to a question which has been asked about the possibility of someone doing something" (p. 211) and contrasts with nē which marks a simple future statement.

[14] I strongly suspect that these connectives are derived from two morphemes, gan and wéndé (the first perhaps being the same as that in the negative adverb and the second perhaps the same as the final interrogative particle), in various combinations as a result of juxtaposition.

[15] There is a strong possibility that the connective mɔ́ is historically derived from the word mɔ 'thing.' Reasons for this hypothesis are the following: (1) some of the uses of mɔ́ parallel emergent connective uses of wen 'word' and wen kó 'word of'; (2) the use with the verb ɔ 'to be' can be translated in a way that makes a substantive of mɔ́, such as, ɔ́ mɔ́m dɛ gɔ̰́y 'I have to do it like this' (perhaps = 'is thing me do like this'), and (3) the translation of mɔ́ is accomplished in Sango, the trade language, by an expression equivalent to wen kó and not by the conjunction sí.

There is another morpheme, mɔ́, which in one case connects two substantive expressions and in another connects an adverb with a verb phrase, but its identification with the connective is doubtful. Indeed, there are insufficient examples to warrant its identification with either the connective or the substantive mɔ 'thing.' For example: gó kayà ó béem kó ró mɔ́ bé-wéeyaa 'so (they) took their children, that is, the sons'; wa gbóʔdí sɛ́rɛ mɔ́ sɛm sɛm 'they held (the) spears (making them tremble).'

[16] Excluded from the class of prepositions are certain nouns which, when they occur in noun phrases, are easily translated by English prepositions, such as the "preposition-like nouns." These are manifestly nouns because of their ability to take the determinant suffix {-a} and to occur in construction with other substantives with the relational morpheme {-́}. Particularly noteworthy are the ones used to indicate place, such as kɔ̰ 'hole, inside,' zaŋ 'belly, inside,' gɔ́n 'top, on top,' zu 'head, on,' ká̰ 'side, beside,' ʔdɔr- 'underneath, under,' tí 'ahead, in front of.' Thus: kɔ̰-́tuwa 'inside the house,' ká̰-tuwa 'beside the house.' Even the following occur: kɔ̰-́kɔ 'in the hole,' tɛ-tɛ-́wa 'to them.' It should be noted that tɛ 'body, at' can precede any one of these pseudoprepositions. The only pseudopreposition which behaves differently is sɛn 'at, to' which never follows tɛ but precedes any other pseudopreposition. Thus: sɛn-tɛ-́zu-ʔdúú-zorói ~ sɛn-́zu-ʔdúú-zorói 'on the Zoró bridge'; wa gbɔ̰́n sɛn-́tɛ-ká̰-tɛ-rɛ́i 'they broke out beside us' (= 'at body side body us').

[17] In the sentence tɛ́m dɛ nɛ kɔ́m ré ge gáá ge. 'What in the world can I do?,' nɛ́ occurs in construction with the prepositional phrase kɔ́m 'of me.' But since phrases with kó have a considerable freedom of occurrence, this is not unusual. There are also sentences that contain a morpheme nɛ́ whose identification with either the preposition nɛ́ or the copula is uncertain. Thus: mí nɛ́ tɛɛ́m 'me alone,' zɛ́ɛ nɛ mbóro, nɛm yarà tɛ-́kakaʔda mɛ 'yesterday in the afternoon I walked around Kakaʔda over there.'

[18] Formal and functional resemblances indicate that some kind of relationship exists between the connective nɛ 'and,' the preposition nɛ́ 'with, etc.,' and the copula nɛ́. The hypothesis is substantiated by similar resemblances in other Niger-Congo languages. The hypothesis is both interesting and important in a historical perspective, but it can not lead to the establishing of a single morpheme in Gbɛya on formally valid grounds. Other names for this morpheme could possibly be 'linking particle' or 'ligature.'

[19] This change is operative regardless of the tone that precedes. For a similar tonal change see 131.2.

[20] When a noun follows a verb without the copula, it is to be taken as an attribute of the subject of the verb. Compare the following: ɔ́ nɛ́ wey 'it's a fire' and ɔ́ wey 'it's hot'; ɔ́ nɛ́ ri 'it's water' and ɔ́ ri ʔdɛ́ 'it's very watery.'

[21] What apparently has happened is that words that were formerly in quite distinct word classes have, as a result of frequent cooccurrence, been crystallized into a set phrase (as was the case with wéndé gan). The form gende may thus be derived from ge ndé which is still used as a type of "filler" with very little, if any, lexical meaning, very much as the phrases "I mean" or "you know" are used in colloquial American English. The form gá is probably to be identified with the gá of the connective óró . . . gá. In some Gbaya dialects, the form gá (or ká) still has the meaning 'like.'

[22] Substitution between some of these forms is illustrated by a text where gende gá ye ge, gende gá ye, gende gá, and ye all follow the verb tɔ̰ 'to speak' in similar environments.

[23] The form ge in the sequence ye ge ndé is analyzed as the interrogative substitute and not as part of the QV (although the latter may be historically derived from the former). Examples: wen kɔ̰-́zaŋáa wéé ye ge ndé. '(The) sound inside makes what sound?' (Compare mɔ nɛ ɔ́ kɔ̰-́dak wéé roke roke 'the thing which is inside the gourd goes roke roke'); ʔdoŋ wáraa ye ge ndé. 'What is the way to do it?' góʔdó-wen nɔ́ɔ ye ge ndé. 'What is the explanation of this affair?' mɛ tɔ̰́ wen ye ge ndé. 'What are you saying?' Compare with ndɛ rɛ zɔ́k, ge ndé, nɛ mise dṵŋ tɛ́ 'and we looked, what? Monsieur was coming,' ʔmɔ́n nɛ ge ndé ndɛ wa gbó tɛ-́zaŋ-ré 'just like that and what? and they arrive in the village.'

[24] Here, as elsewhere in this grammar, the word "class" is used for "subclass" where the context makes it clear that subclasses are under discussion.

[25] Since all of the examples of ʔbay show it to be in a substantive phrase at the beginning of an utterance (being preceded only by the connective {go}), I suspect that instead of an adjective, it is some kind of clausally bound morpheme. The feature that requires its being described as an adjective is the fact that it occurs in construction with substantives where no verb is involved.

[26] It has been suggested (William E. Welmers, personal communication) that this adjective is not strictly plural (indicating many objects of a particular kind) but rather indicates individualized plurality; it is as if objects were looked at one by one instead of in a group. I have this same feeling about ó but no lexicographic data that would substantiate it.

[27] This adjective has the same form as the negative adverb ná, but it is hard to see any relation between them, so they are identified as separate morphemes. If only one morpheme is involved, this fact can be proven only by means of a construction such as mí ná (= 'me not') which I seem to recall being used by a speaker to call attention to the opinion he was going to express in his next utterance, meaning something like "won't I be considered?"

[28] It seems almost certain that nɔ́ɔ is derived from the sequence nɛ ɔ́ɔ 'and it is,' where the verb ɔ́ 'is' has the morpheme -́V (213.3). In the Suma dialect the following occur: tuwa ɔ́ɔ 'this house' (= 'house is'), tuwa nɛ ɔ́ɔ 'this house' (= 'house and is'). The assimilated form of the connective occurs at Gɛzɛ́ri, north of Bossembele, in wí kó | nɔ ɔ́ | nɛ dɔ̧́ 'this woman is short,' where pause can occur at points marked by vertical bars.

[29] D. T. Cole, An Introduction to Tswana Grammar. Longmans, Green and Co., 1955, 370 pp.

[30] An apology is made for not giving glosses for all of the DAs cited in this section. One-to-one correspondences are generally impossible to make and circumlocutory translations would by their length overburden the treatment.

[31] Because the derivation of stems in many Indo-European languages is largely achieved through affixation, my use of the word may at first appear ill-advised, for no derivational affixes are utilized in the formation of Gbɛya DAs. The justification for its employment here rests on the recognition by others of compounding as a derivational process.

[32] The term "secondary association" is taken from Charles F. Hockett (A Course in Modern Linguistics, 1958, pp. 296-299).

[33] There are a few nouns, almost entirely names of living creatures, whose origin is onomatopoeic. They are too few in number to warrant the description of an imitative process of derivation. Thus: ná hmḿ 'a certain frog,' gbúúfuu 'a certain owl,' uʔúu 'a certain fish' (although uʔúu is not a sound actually heard from the fish in question, the Gbɛya claim that it is able to lead other fish into traps by making noises. This therefore is a case of pseudo-onomatopoeia), sɛ̧ɛ súu 'a certain bird.'

[34] The form wí-zú 'thief' is not included here because of the aberrant form of the verb zú 'steal.' One expects wí-zu, with zu being the attribute of the noun wí 'person.'

[35] If the informant is correct in translating tɔ̧́ of the following phrase as 'talk,' then this one phrase constitutes a subclass coordinate with the other examples given in this section: zik tɔ̧́ 'certain tree,' so named, the informant said, because people walked around the tree (zik 'to circle') and remarked on the good shade it gave. Another coordinate subclass with only one member is the following: yɔ̧́ŋ gáan 'certain small animal' < 'eat' + gán 'in vain' + suffix -́V. It would not be accurate to consider these analyses as fully analogous to folk etymologies. In their present form any other morphological segmentation is unlikely. Of course, if it could be shown that these words were borrowed from another language in which they had a different form, then we could suggest that the phonemic sequences were segmented in a way which was somehow meaningful in Gbɛya.

[36] The possibility of describing the pronouns as basically toneless and attributing the tone to some other morpheme was considered. For example, the perfective might have been described as consisting of the suffix { á } and high tone(s) on the pronouns (when these occurred). Since, however, this type of analysis would have made the whole description more complicated than the present one, even assuming that it would be entirely consistent, I have rejected it. In the following discussion it is to be understood that when I speak of the pronoun ɛrɛ or ɛ́rɛ́, I am in fact talking about allomorphs of a single morpheme.

[37] No examples of ˋ-m are found in the data, but it is here posited both because I remember having heard a form such as láŋgim 'passing I . . . .' and also because it is

theoretically possible with motion verbs. The grave accent mark in ̀-m only means that the vowel preceding the suffix has low tone. An attempt was made to eliminate -Vm by setting up -m and introducing allomorphs of the verb bases, such as *háya-m. There is some historical justification for this analysis (see the common Gbanu verb form CVCV), but the morph -Vm is no longer restricted to disyllabic bases, and nouns (when it concerns the objectival pronouns) also come into the picture.

[38] Note should be taken of the fact that there are two homophonous allomorphs of 1S, namely, -m of am and -m of ám. They contrast in terms of the whole sets of pronouns and in utterances such as nɛ́ɛm zɔ́k wa 'I went and saw them' and nɛ́m zɔk wa 'I'm going to see them.'

[39] That the substitution of an explicit pronoun for a common one is not entirely obligatory is demonstrated in several instances. For example:

gá ye$_1$ am$_2$ kíí$_3$ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_4$ '(he) said$_1$, "I'm$_2$ looking for$_3$ a way$_4$."'

[40] It is certainly more than accidental that these substitutes are distinguished only by the quality of their vowels. One is tempted to segment a morph with the shape -V, but because its occurrence would be restricted to these words, such an analysis is hardly justified.

[41] The only possible identification of ré at the moment is with the form which occurred in the speech of someone from Bowe where ré duwa and yé duwa are used, at least occasionally, instead of ó duwa 'goats,' where ré, yé, and ó simply mark plurality. Getting 'how much, how many?' from 'what plurality?' seems a bit forced, however.

[42] This word is suspiciously like two other words in the language (in form and to some extent in meaning) with which it is also in complementary distribution. They are ŋma 'some' (an adjective) which occurs only as an attribute of nouns, and ŋmaa 'some' (a noun) which occurs only as the subject of verbs. One considers the possibility of somehow uniting these in a single morpheme. This may be possible if one starts with the base form ŋma 'some, a few, little bit, etc.' and adds the suffix {-a} (213.1) to make a subjective nominative with the same general meaning and the suffix *-á to make an objective nominative with the added meaning of reciprocity. The resultant forms would be unique, as would the occurrence of the suffix itself.

[43] The suffixes -i$_1$ and {-i$_3$} cannot be united as a single morpheme for the following reasons: (1) their meaning and the distribution of the free forms in which they occur are not similar enough and (2) a distributional difference is correlated with a formal difference in that one occurs with B-́ and the other with B-. (It should also be pointed out that these suffixes are different from another one of similar form, the postclitic {-i$_5$}. The postclitic occurs freely with verb forms c to f inclusively, and when it occurs with those in a, it contrasts with -i$_1$ in that unlike the latter it does not occur with the /r/ allomorph of the verb. So: wesé nɛm pééi 'the day on which I returned,' wesé-peri 'the day of returning.')

[44] It should be remembered from section 131.2 that the diacritic ` indicates the substitution of a low for a high tone preceding high tone.

[45] The high tone on /i/ in the following forms is described as being part of the objectival pronominal suffix /-́m/: bá̧ á̧ kiʔdím 'while he was looking for me'; bá̧ á̧ laŋgím 'when he passed me up.' The low tone in láŋgim in the following is however described as belonging to the subjectival pronominal suffix: *láŋgim rɔ́ŋ nu 'passing on, I fell down' (not actually heard, but possible on the analogy of pérem zɔ́k wa 'coming back, I saw them'). See note 37.

[46] The following examples are unusual because of the occurrence of high tone imperfectives following bó, so I suspect an error in transcription: gó zɛ nɛ bó ndɛ́ wá dɔ nɛ́ gbíyaí 'so on the night before they are going to burn the gbíya (translation uncertain),' bá̧ á̧ nún nɔ́a 'when he smelled the oil.'

[47] The examples are too few to warrant further generalizations, but data from other Gbaya dialects seem to indicate that this combination of high tone pronoun subjects and low tone verbs may be a widespread and important pattern.

[48] I do not mean by free variation that it is a demonstrable fact that either a high or low perfective form can substitute for the other one in any particular environment. I simply mean that the occurrence of one or the other is not at present structurally predictable. There may of course be a real difference in style, say, between the low in slow speech and the high in rapid speech. In the transcription of the tape-recorded texts

it was often difficult to determine whether the form was high or low, but it is certain that the contrast exists; my informant confirmed it.

[49] The use of nɛ 'to go' and tɛ 'to come' in a particular situation seems to depend somewhat on the speaker's point of view (whether he thinks of himself either at the point of departure or point of destination, compare English 'Are you coming to/going to the party?'), but in the dialect of Bouca it seems that both are used for 'to come,' tɛ with singular subjects and nɛ with plural subjects.

[50] For one possible exception see note 46.

[51] The word íŋáá functions as an auxiliary in that either an imperfective or perfective verb may follow it, but in some constructions it seems to function as a connective. There are not enough data to justify a conclusive analysis, especially since its meaning is not fully understood. Examples are:

> bą́ ą́ ba wééyaa$_1$ íŋáá pį$_2$ bɔlɔ́a$_3$ 'when he took the male one$_1$ (that is, the gourd) to throw$_2$ (it) after$_3$ (the first one)'
>
> ą̀$_1$ ŋgɛ́mbɛ́m$_2$, nɛ$_3$ íŋáá baám$_4$ 'he$_1$ waited for me$_2$, and$_3$ (for the purpose of) taking me$_4$'

The word gó functions similarly. It is most certainly derived from the connective {go} (332.2), but because of their differences in function, they must be considered distinct.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYNTAX

In this chapter are described the various ways in which words are arranged in maximal utterances. Hitherto, the main consideration was of morphemes or classes of morphemes, bound and free. This chapter deals with constructions, that is, with collocations of free morphemes. The unit basic to the description is the sentence, which in its smallest form consists of several types of included or potentially independent constructions. These sentence constructions are described in section 420. Nonsentence-type constructions are described in 410. Several types of syntactic combining processes are described in 430. Finally, a sample text is presented in 500. The analysis of the syntax is based on the theory of immediate constituents: It is assumed that syntactic structures can be analyzed into layers of progressively smaller dichotomous units.

410. Nonsentence-type constructions. The various constructions which are included within sentences are endocentric substantive phrases, with both noun (411) and substitute (412) heads, exocentric prepositional phrases (413), and verb phrases (414). Since the term "phrase" is descriptive of constructions, it covers both those consisting of only one word and also those of several words.

411. Noun phrases. They consist of either subordinate (411.1 and 411.2) or coordinate elements (411.3). The subordinate substantive phrase consists of the head and its preposed or postposed attributes or both. The attributes which precede the head are either adjectives, numerative substitutes, or descriptive adverbs. The attributes which follow the head are either substantives, adjectives, prepositional phrases, adverbs, verbs, or dependent clauses. The coordinate phrase consists of heads which are combined by parataxis or with some formal marker.

411.1. Noun phrases with preposed attributes. They are either numerative substitutes (411.11), adverbs (411.12), or adjectives. For the last, see section 360.

411.11. Numerative substitute attributes. The meaning of a numeral in this position is different from when it occurs postposed to the head. Here it is somewhat equivalent in meaning to an English ordinal numeral. In addition, the word kpém 'one' has the meaning of 'single,' such as: kpém wesé '(in a) single day,' kpém fara 'single place,' rííto wen 'second subject.'

411.12. Adverb attributes. This use of the descriptive adverbs is infrequent in the corpus. For example:

fį́í káyá kélé 'small faith,' compare ó wí-ré tɛ̀à fį́í 'a few people came'
goŋ goŋ-́tuwa 'square house,' compare wa dɛ́ tuwa goŋ goŋ 'they are making the house square'
gére-́mɔ 'unimportant thing,' compare ą́ tɛ̀à gére 'he came for no reason'
yɛ̧rɛrɛ-́wesé 'certain snake,' compare wesɛ̀ dɔ́ yɛ̧rɛrɛ 'the sun is shining temperately'

411.2. Noun phrases with postposed subordinate attributes. These attributes are either substantives (411.21), adjectives (411.22), prepositional phrases (411.23), adverbs (411.24), verbs (411.25), or dependent clauses (411.26).

411.21. Substantive attributes. They are either nouns or substitutes which are subordinated either paratactically or by the use of the connective óró . . . gá 'like.' Subordination is identified by the fact that one word, the head, can be used in the place of the whole construction.

411.211. Noun attributes. Several types of constructions are distinguished by their meanings, but most of these occur with the relational morpheme {-́}, which is discussed in 212.2. In addition to these, there are a few N + N constructions without this relational morpheme.[1] For example:

wan to 'master fable (the Spider, chief character in the fables)'
wan fiyo 'master fetish' (a personal name)
gbɔgbɔ ri 'middle of the stream'
térí$_1$ ŋmgbarí$_2$ ʔdoŋ saŋai$_3$ 'plant$_1$ (the) okra$_2$ in rows$_3$'
wesɛ̀ ɔ́ sɛra zu 'the sun is overhead'
dɔ̧́-kiʔdi$_1$ mbé$_2$ wen$_3$ wen$_4$-tɔ̧́áa$_5$ 'beer for looking for$_1$ a new$_2$ subject$_3$ to$_4$ talk$_5$ (about)'
ó mɔ$_1$ tɛ-́wesɛ̀$_2$ kó$_3$ ó kpásái kɛ́ rɛ́$_4$ 'things$_1$ in the days$_2$ of$_3$ our elders$_4$'
mɔ-́mąri$_1$ kó$_2$ ó sɔ́kái kɛ́ rɛ́$_3$ tɛ-tíi$_4$ 'the clothing$_1$ of$_2$ our elders$_3$ long ago$_4$'
ŋma wí-ré$_1$ óró$_2$ mɛ́$_3$ gá$_2$ 'a person$_1$ like$_2$ you$_3$'

411.212. Substitute attributes.[2] It seems that all but the personal pronouns may occur as attributes of nominatives. In addition to the following examples, others may be found in 382:

Demonstrative: kɔfɛ$_1$ į́í$_2$ nɛ nɛ́ dɛ̀à$_3$ rɔ̧́k$_4$ ʔdɛ́i$_5$ 'that$_2$ in-law$_1$ who should work$_3$ very$_5$ well$_4$'
Interrogative: wí-o 'who?' yari-́ge 'what hunt?' (personal name)
Locative: mɔ̧́y$_1$ tɛ-rɛ́$_2$ mɛ$_3$ 'meet$_1$ in (the) village$_2$ there$_3$,' mɛ́$_1$ ɔá$_2$ nu$_3$ na$_4$ '(if) you$_1$ were$_2$ (on the) ground$_3$ here$_4$'
Quantitative: ŋma wen kɔ́m dɔ́ka gan bó ná 'I don't have any big speech,' ó wí-ré$_1$ hárá sɔ́n$_2$ mɔ̧́y$_3$ 'all$_2$ (the) people$_1$ gather$_3$'
Numerative: ŋma$_1$ mɔ$_2$ kpém$_3$ 'some$_1$ one$_3$ thing$_2$'
gą́sá$_1$ kɛrɛ$_2$ ʔdoŋ kpém$_3$ 'six$_3$ large$_1$ beer-pots$_2$'

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[1] For notes to Chapter Four, see p. 142.

411.22. Adjective attributes; such as: zǫ́$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ 'this$_2$ grass$_1$,' tɨ̨i$_1$-́wa$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'these$_3$ tails$_1$ of theirs$_2$,' fiyo$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'this$_3$ fetish$_1$ of mine$_2$,' ɓáraa jį ná mɛi 'dry season before last.'

411.23. Prepositional-phrase attributes. Phrases containing the preposition kó 'of' (and much less frequently {ín} 'with' and nɛ́) are those which most frequently occur in attribution to a noun head. (See also postposed coordinate attributes, 411.3.) Examples are:

ʔdoŋ-wáá$_1$ kɛ́ rɛ́$_2$ ín mɛ́ ye ge ndé. 'What does our$_2$ way$_1$ have to do with your way?' (= 'our way with you means what?')
ó yą́$_1$ kɔ́í$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$ 'all$_3$ your$_2$ friends$_1$'
wen$_1$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_2$ ín$_3$ kó$_4$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_5$ '(said) for$_1$ himself$_2$ and$_3$ his$_5$ wife$_4$'
gba dóro$_1$ kó wa$_2$ 'their$_2$ hunting-path$_1$'
zɛ́ɛ nɔ́ɔ$_1$ nɛ$_2$ mbóro$_3$ 'yesterday$_1$ in$_2$ (the) evening$_3$'

411.24. Adverb attributes. Only a few occur as attributes to nouns, such as: mɔ$_1$ gére$_2$ 'unimportant$_2$ thing$_1$,' zɔ́ŋá$_1$ kó wa$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ gɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'this$_3$ adolescent daughter$_1$ of theirs$_2$ here$_4$,' ó mɔ$_1$ ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k$_2$ 'many different$_2$ things$_1$' (cf. laŋgi$_1$ ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k$_2$ 'pass$_1$ on all sides$_2$'), mɔ ʔbéé 'thing from long ago' (cf. ám$_1$ įŋɔ́$_2$ ą$_3$ ʔbéé$_4$ 'I've$_1$ known$_2$ him$_3$ from long ago$_4$').

411.25. Verb attributes. They are either verbs or verb phrases which stand in construction with common nouns. For example:

ą$_1$ dɛ́ malɛ́ɛ$_2$ wen-́gɔʔbi$_3$ wen-́tɛ$_4$ wen-́ri$_5$ 'he$_1$ played a trick$_2$ so as to go around$_3$ to come$_4$ for (the) water$_5$'
gą rɛ$_1$ kpa$_2$ ŋmaa wen-́gbɛ$_3$ kpém$_4$ ná 'we$_1$ didn't find$_2$ even one$_4$ to kill$_3$'
wa$_1$ bá yarí$_2$-zą$_3$ yináa$_4$ 'they$_1$ set out$_2$ to dig up$_3$ the roots$_4$'
ʔdoŋ-wáá-nɛ fɔ bó ná 'it's not possible to go to the garden' (= 'means of going garden is not')
yárá$_1$-dɛ saa$_2$ zaŋ-ré$_3$ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ$_4$ 'running around$_1$ to play$_2$ in (the) village$_3$ all the time$_4$'
wí-zɔk wa gan bó ná 'there is no one to oversee them' (= 'person to see them is not')

411.26. Dependent-clause attributes. A principal clause introduced by the connective nɛ 'and' is a common attribute of noun (as well as substitute) phrases, the whole of which is very often "closed" with the postclitic. The noun head, regardless of its function in the sentence, is either the subject or the object of the dependent clause. When the head is the subject of the dependent clause, the verb has no grammatical subject (see below for pronominal heads). For example:

zɔ́k$_1$ fara$_2$-́mɔí$_3$ nɛ tɛ́i$_4$ ná 'doesn't see$_1$ the place$_2$ from which the thing$_3$ is coming$_4$'
wen kó mɔ ną$_1$ ą$_2$ sąmá$_3$ fire$_4$ nɛ wan to ʔbirɔ̆$_5$ á$_6$ nui$_7$ 'because$_1$ he$_2$ ate$_3$ (the) paste$_4$ which Wan-to had broken off$_5$ (and) thrown to$_6$ the ground$_7$'
ɛrɛ$_1$ kų́$_2$ ri$_3$ sɛn-tɛ-́fara$_4$ ndɛ wa dųmɔ̆$_5$ érém$_6$ sɛnɛ́i 'we$_1$ crossed$_2$ the stream$_3$ at the place$_4$ where they speared$_5$ my hand$_6$'
gan ą$_1$ rɛ́m$_2$ ɔ$_3$ ín$_4$ kóoi$_5$ ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ́ai$_6$ ná 'he$_1$ can't$_2$ sleep$_3$ with$_4$ the girl$_5$ for whom he is working$_6$'

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ɔ́ nɛ́ mɔ$_1$ nɛ tɛ-́foo ką́ ą$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ yųm$_4$ wenáa 'it's something$_1$ about which his in-laws$_2$ will$_3$ be angry$_4$'
biro$_1$-́gbɛ$_2$ ŋmaá$_3$ ndɛ wa gbɛ́$_4$ nɛ sɛ́rɛi$_5$ 'a fight$_1$ to kill$_2$ each other$_3$ which they did$_4$ with spears$_5$'
mɛ ką́y$_1$ ó tįrɛ́a$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$ nɛ ndɛ́ wá a$_4$ nu$_5$ há mɛ́i$_6$ 'take$_1$ all$_3$ the payment$_2$ which they will put$_4$ (on the) ground$_5$ for you$_6$'

411.3. Postposed coordinate attributes. They are substantives joined by the connective nɛ 'and' (332.4) or wéndé gan 'or' (332.9).

412. Substitute phrases. These consist only of subordinate elements, and they are fewer in number and less varied than are the noun phrases. The variation seems to be correlated with the fact that only certain substitutes function as subjects or objects of verbs, and among these only certain ones are more common than the others. The substitutes which occur with attributes are discussed in the following paragraphs.

412.1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns occur with the following attributes: nɔ́ɔ 'this,' sɔ́n 'all,' ó 'plural marker,' ʔbay 'only,' numerals, a phrase introduced by the preposition {ín} 'with,' and a phrase or clause introduced by the connective nɛ 'and.' For example:
ą$_1$ nɔ́ɔ ną ą gbɛà$_2$ rɛ́i$_3$ 'he$_1$ who killed$_2$ us$_3$'
mɛ zɔ́k$_1$ wa$_2$ kusi$_3$ 'look at$_1$ (the) nine$_3$ (of) them$_2$'
ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ sɔ́n$_2$ ɛrɛ zɔ́kaa$_3$ 'all$_2$ (of) us$_1$ saw it$_3$'
wí$_1$ ín$_2$ yám-wara 'you$_1$ and$_2$ Yám-wara'
ó įí$_1$ nɛ ɔ́$_2$ nɛ bé-zee mbɔra$_3$ 'those$_1$ who are$_2$ obedient children$_3$'
ám$_1$ gbɛá$_2$ įì nɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'I$_1$ killed$_2$ that one$_3$'
ʔbay mí am tɛ́ gɔ́ɔ 'it is only I coming' (= 'only me I come here')

412.2. The numerative, locative, and temporal substitutes occur only with the adjective nɔ́ɔ 'this' (362.2). For example:
ám$_1$ gbɛà$_2$ ríító$_3$ nɔ́ɔ$_4$ 'I$_1$ killed$_2$ these$_4$ two$_3$'
ą́ ʔmɔnà$_1$ íyɛ$_2$ nɔ́ɔ 'he's still$_1$ over there$_2$'
mbóro nɔ́ɔ$_1$ ąm$_2$ tǫ́ nɛ́i$_3$ 'it's this evening$_1$ I'm$_2$ talking about$_3$'

412.3. The interrogative pronoun o 'who?' (382.3) occurs with the attribute ó 'plural marker' only once and in an early field-work notebook. Thus: ną́ ą́$_1$ kay$_2$ ó o$_3$? 'What people$_3$ (did you say) he was going$_1$ to get$_2$?'

413. Prepositional phrases. These consist of a preposition and a substantive or substantive phrase. It is to be understood that the term "prepositional phrase" includes prepositions with pronominal suffixes (for example, kɔ́m 'of me'). For other examples see 340. (For a discussion of wen kó 'for, because,' see 331.2; 414.17.) Examples are:
kó 'of':
wen kó ge 'why?'
tuwa kó o 'whose house?'
wa$_1$ gbák$_2$ sɛ́rɛ$_3$ kó ŋmaá$_4$ 'they$_1$ exchange$_2$ each other's$_4$ spears$_3$'
wen kó bɛrɛ 'as for the dry season'

há 'from, to':

há$_1$ éé$_2$-ó wí-ré$_3$ 'from$_1$ (the) hands$_2$ of people$_3$'
nɛ́ nɛ́$_1$ hó$_2$ wa$_3$ 'take$_1$ (it) to$_2$ them$_3$'
há sɛnɛ́ 'from there'
dák$_1$ kéey$_2$ há zaŋ-́wa$_3$ 'take$_1$ fear$_2$ out of them$_3$'

ín 'with':

ín$_1$ bém$_2$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_3$ '(said) and$_1$ his$_3$ child$_2$'
koyo ín ó mboró ín ó dawa tɛ́ 'koyo '(birds) and red monkeys and green monkeys come'

414. Verb phrases. The verb phrase consists of a verb head and non-obligatory complements. These are either substantives, prepositional phrases, verbs, or adverbs which occur in a more or less regular order. The order is a relative one: the shorter the verb phrase, the easier it is to predict the order of the constituents. The sum of the possibilities is illustrated by the following formula: verb + intensive (that is, kó phrase) + object (or goal or predicate complement) + place + time + prepositional phrase + number + purpose + adverb + repeated verb. The various combinations are not explicitly illustrated, but many can be found in the following sections.

414.1. Substantive complements. In this position these have the syntactic meaning of object (or goal or predicate complement, etc.), place, time, number, or purpose.

414.11. Object:

ą$_1$ há$_2$ oro-nú$_3$ hó$_4$ wa$_5$ 'he$_1$ gives$_2$ a command$_3$ to$_4$ them$_5$'
hɛ́$_1$ ri$_2$ ínaa$_3$ 'buy$_1$ water$_2$ from him$_3$'
gom$_1$ bá$_2$ ą$_3$ wáá fara taa$_4$ 'and I$_1$ took$_2$ him$_3$ three times$_4$'
bá$_1$ kóa$_2$ tí$_3$ 'take$_1$ the female one$_2$ first$_3$'

414.12. Goal. It is convenient to distinguish goal from direct object when nouns with locative meaning follow verbs of motion. For example:

sí ʔdoŋ nɛ́ wen hám 'answer me' (= 'return back with word to-me')
sí ʔdoŋ tɛ-ré$_1$ mɛ$_2$ 'return to the village$_1$ there$_2$'
nɛ́$_1$ kɔ́ɔ́-rɛ́$_2$ 'goes$_1$ after us$_2$'
rɛmà$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ 'enough for$_1$ us$_2$'
nɛ$_1$ yarí$_2$ 'go$_1$ on a hunt$_2$'

414.13. Predicate complement. This use is to be contrasted with the use of the copula nɛ́ (for which see 352). Nouns with this meaning usually follow the verbs ɔ 'to be,' kifi 'to turn (into),' ʔmɔn 'to remain,' ya 'to be (plural).' For example:

ɔ́ wey 'it's hot'
wa yá ríſto 'there are two of them' (= 'they are two')
ą́$_1$ kifó$_2$ dila$_3$ 'he$_1$ turned into$_2$ a lion$_3$'
ʔmɔná wey 'it's still hot' (= 'remained hot')

414.14. Place. The precise meanings of where, whither, or whence are in the lexical meanings of the substantives or in the construction (since há 'from' is the only preposition which can be used with a locative meaning).

For example, the word 'fire' is locative in the phrase é$_1$ kɔ̨rá$_2$ wey$_3$ 'puts$_1$ chicken$_2$ (on the) fire$_3$ (to cook),' but objective in é wey sɛnɛ́ 'puts fire there' (that is, 'set fire to something'). A few nouns are commonly used as the heads of noun phrases with locative meaning: kɔ̨ 'hole, in,' ʔdɔr- 'underneath, under,' bɔnɔ 'back, behind, after,' zu 'head, on,' kɔ́r- 'back, after,' ką́ 'side, beside, next to,' saŋa 'inside, between,' zaŋ 'belly, inside, within,' gbɔgbɔ 'between.' Many locative noun phrases, even some with the words just listed, may have as head tɛ or sɛn or sɛn tɛ 'at.'[3] Examples of the preposition-like nouns, of phrases with sɛn and tɛ, and finally of other nouns are given below. For examples of the locative substitutes see 382.5.

414.141. Examples with preposition-like nouns:

ndɛ$_1$ wa$_2$ aà$_3$ kɔ̨-́daná$_4$ 'and$_1$ they$_2$ put$_3$ (it) in the bag$_4$'
dų́ŋ ʔdɔráa 'sat underneath'
bó$_1$ kpa ŋmaá$_2$ . . . bɔnɔ́a$_3$ 'when$_1$ (they) meet$_2$ . . . after it$_3$'
nɛm$_1$ dų́ŋ$_2$ zu-́wotóo$_3$ 'and I$_1$ was sitting$_2$ on the truck$_3$'
ɔ́$_1$ saŋa$_2$ wáam gɔ́ɔ$_3$ 'is$_1$ in the middle of$_2$ (the) Waam here$_3$'
te$_1$ yá$_2$ ką́$_3$-tɛ-́ŋmaá$_4$ '(there) were$_2$ trees$_1$ beside$_3$ each other$_4$'
wa$_1$ tɔ̨́ wen$_2$ kɔ́ɔ́$_3$-rɛ́i$_4$ 'they$_1$ talk$_2$ behind$_3$ us$_4$'
nɛ$_1$ mɛ$_2$ bɛ̨á$_3$ tom$_4$ zaŋ$_5$-ré$_6$ mɛ$_7$ 'and$_1$ you$_2$ refused$_3$ work$_4$ in$_5$ (the) village$_6$ there$_7$'

414.142. Examples with sɛn and tɛ:

bɛ́$_1$ rɛ́$_2$ zįi$_3$ sɛn-́tɛ-ką́-zaŋ-́ri$_4$ mɛ$_5$ 'when$_1$ we$_2$ came down$_3$ to the riverbank$_4$ there$_5$'
péé$_1$ ín$_2$ ró$_3$ sɛn-tɛ-́mise$_4$ na$_5$ '(he said I should) return$_1$ with$_2$ him$_3$ to Monsieur$_4$ here$_5$'
ą$_1$ káy$_2$ toy$_3$ kó wa$_4$ sɔ́n$_5$ tɛ-́tuwa$_6$ ką́ ą$_7$ 'he$_1$ takes$_2$ all$_5$ their$_4$ belongings$_3$ to his$_7$ house$_6$'
gbó tɛ-́zaŋ-ré 'arrive in the village'

414.143. Examples with other nouns:

bá$_1$ ʔboy$_2$ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨$_3$ tan$_4$-ɛ̨i$_5$ 'takes$_1$ his$_3$ hat$_2$ (from) his$_5$ head$_4$'
mɛ́$_1$ ɔá$_2$ nu$_3$ na$_4$ '(if) you$_1$ were$_2$ here$_4$ (on the) ground$_3$'
wa$_1$ pį́$_2$ nú-kan$_3$ nu$_4$ 'they$_1$ put$_2$ (the) end of the torch$_3$ (to the) ground$_4$'
á$_1$ éé-ɛ̨$_2$ wáá-ri$_3$ 'puts$_1$ his hands$_2$ (in the) direction of (the) water$_3$'

414.15. Time. The most common substantives of time are the temporal substitutes, for which see 382.6. Others (not occurring in a prepositional phrase) are very often locative nominatives with temporal meaning. For example:

ɛrɛ$_1$ kúú$_2$ zu-́ture$_3$ 'we$_1$ left$_2$ early in the morning$_3$' (= 'head of morning')
ą$_1$ bá$_2$ kóa$_3$ tí$_4$ 'he$_1$ takes$_2$ the female$_3$ first$_4$'
pį$_1$ mbéa$_2$ nu$_3$ ʔdoŋɛ$_4$ 'throws$_1$ another one$_2$ (on the) ground$_3$ after that$_4$'
gbɛ́$_1$ kpasi$_2$ kó mɛ́$_3$ mbéa ʔbɔ$_4$ 'destroy$_1$ your$_3$ life$_2$ again$_4$'

414.16. Number. Numerative substitutes or noun phrases containing an attribute of number are used with this meaning.[4] For example:

ayá$_1$ oróm$_2$ wáá rííto 'sent$_1$ after me$_2$ twice' (= 'way two')
pee nɛ$_1$ hám$_2$ gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y$_3$ wáá fara taa$_4$ 'return with$_1$ (it) to me$_2$ like this$_3$ three times$_4$'

bą́$_1$ ą́$_2$ si ʔdoŋ$_3$ ríítóa$_4$ 'when$_1$ he$_2$ came back$_3$ the second time$_4$' (= 'the second')

414.17. Purpose. The word wen 'word, affair' is used independently (but with the determinant suffix) or as the head of noun phrases with various types of complements with the meaning 'reason' or 'purpose,' but it is translated in several different ways: with nouns it often has the English meaning 'for,' and with verbs the meaning 'to.' For example:

ną́á$_1$ ŋmaá$_2$ wenáa$_3$ 'bite$_1$ each other$_2$ over it$_3$'
ge a mɛ$_1$ yú yui$_2$ wenáá$_3$ ge ndé 'for what reason$_3$ are you$_1$ running$_2$?'
ą$_1$ há oro-nú hó wa$_2$ wen$_3$-́mǫy$_4$ 'he$_1$ ordered them$_2$ to$_3$ gather$_4$'
ą bá ŋganda íniím$_1$ wen$_2$-túrú$_3$ kɔ́m$_4$ 'he's jealous$_1$ over$_2$ my$_4$ clothes$_3$'
ɛrɛ$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ wen kó$_3$ saʔde$_4$ sɛ́ 'let's$_1$ go$_2$ for$_3$ (the) meat$_4$'
dɛ́$_1$ kam$_2$ wen kó wa$_3$ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ$_4$ 'makes$_1$ food$_2$ for them$_3$ all the time$_4$'
gan rɛ$_1$ kpá$_2$ ŋma saʔde$_3$ kpém$_4$ wen kó$_5$ gbɛ́á$_6$ ná 'we$_1$ didn't find$_2$ one$_4$ animal$_3$ to$_5$ kill$_6$'
gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ kpá$_3$ wen kó$_4$ si$_5$ rɛ yǫŋ$_6$ nɛ́ kam$_7$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ found$_3$ (meat) in order to$_4$ return$_5$ (and) eat$_6$ (it) with (the) porridge$_7$'

414.18. Manner. The only substantive which occurs in verb phrases with this meaning is gáa 'like this.'[5] For example:

mise bó$_1$ laŋgi$_2$ kó ró kpɛ́kɛ́rɛ́$_3$ tɛ-íyɛ$_4$ gáa 'when$_1$ Monsieur went on$_2$ out of sight$_3$ over there$_4$ like this'
é$_1$ zúa$_2$ ʔbɔ$_3$ gáa 'add$_1$ to it$_2$ again$_3$ like this'
te$_1$ yá$_2$ ką́-tɛ-́ŋmaà$_3$ gáá nɔ́ɔ rííto$_4$ 'two$_4$ trees$_1$ stood$_2$ beside each other$_3$ like this'

414.2. Prepositional phrases. These occur with the following meanings: emphasis on subject (kó); time, place, instrument, or object (with nɛ́); reciprocation (with {ín}); benefaction or origin (with há); accompaniment (with nɛ́ or ín); or goal or indirect object (with {ín} or há). These prepositions are discussed in 340.

414.3. Verbs. These occur as objective complements of the verb head or in repetition of the verb head.

414.31. As objective complements, verbs occur in the low-tone imperfective forms, for which see 393.112, most often after motion verbs or such verbs as rɛm 'to be able,' i̧ŋ 'to know,' and kǫ 'to want, agree to.' For example:

nɛ́$_1$ bi$_2$ dilai$_3$ 'go$_1$ to fight$_2$ the lion$_3$'
ám$_1$ yará$_2$ kiʔdi$_3$ saʔde$_4$ 'I$_1$ was hiking$_2$ in search of$_3$ animals$_4$'
gan rɛ́m$_1$ tǫ wen$_2$ są́ŋ$_3$ ná 'can't$_1$ talk$_2$ correctly$_3$'
ą́$_1$ i̧ŋɔ́$_2$ tǫɔ mbɛ́tí$_3$ 'he$_1$ knows how$_2$ to read$_3$'
ɛrɛ$_1$ kǫ́$_2$ kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ$_3$ fɔ$_4$ ná 'we$_1$ don't want$_2$ to go$_3$ (to the) garden$_4$'
guʔdò kúmásé$_1$ dą$_2$ káná-biro 'Guʔdó began$_1$ to curse$_2$ Káná-biro'

414.32. Emphasis is achieved by repeating the head verb (which occurs with the suffix -i$_2$, for which see 211.3).[6] For example:

ó ŋmaa$_1$ yǫ́ŋ$_2$ kó ró$_3$ yǫ́ŋi nɛ́$_4$ gogo$_5$-ró$_6$ 'some$_1$, on the other hand$_3$, chew$_2$ (it) with$_4$ their$_6$ teeth$_5$ (in contrast to pounding it)'
hɛ́$_1$ ri$_2$ ínaa$_3$ hɛ́i 'buy$_1$ water$_2$ from him$_3$ (instead of getting it free)'

ʔnáŋ$_1$ mɔ$_2$ ʔnáŋi 'ruin$_1$ things$_2$'

414.4. Adverbs. For exemplification see 370 and Text 10. An additional characteristic of the adverbs is that two, and occasionally more, descriptive adverbs (372) can occur in a single verb phrase, for example:

nɔ̰́y$_1$ ʔdiriri ʔdiriri$_2$ gɔ̰́y$_3$ 'boils$_1$ furiously$_2$ like this$_3$'
nɛ́ yɛŋ, yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ '(the water) went flowing along'
nɛm$_1$ nɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́-mise$_2$ gɛʔdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k$_3$ gɔ̰́y$_4$ ŋmgbóŋ$_5$ 'and I$_1$ followed Monsieur$_2$ like this$_4$ very softly$_3$ for a long time$_5$'

420. Sentence constructions. The sentence is defined as the minimal free utterance. The definition rests on the fact that in normal discourse there are constructions which regularly elicit certain types of response, linguistic or nonlinguistic. These utterances and the responses they elicit are of two types: one consists of a substantival expression in an exocentric construction with a verb expression (whose relation to each other is "subject" to "predicate," about which more is said below), and the other consists of verbless expressions. The first is by far the most important type, although more complex syntactically, and is called the "principal type" (421.1). The second, named "secondary type" (421.2), contains no verb. Principal and secondary sentence constructions (that is, simple sentences, 421) may in turn be constituents of more complex sentences, complex (422) or compound (423). When this happens, they are called "clauses." For this reason there are major (421.11) and minor (421.12) clauses, which parallel primary and secondary sentence constructions.

421. Simple sentences. They are of two types: principal (with a verbal predicate) and secondary (or nonprincipal, without a verb). Since the constructions described in this section are only potential sentences, they are here distinguished by the name "clause."

421.1. Principal clauses. These are of two types, major and minor. Major clauses are those which have grammatical subjects, and minor clauses are those which do not have grammatical subjects.

421.11. Major clauses. The minimal constituents of a major clause are a grammatical subject and verbal predicate: for example, wa tɛ́ 'they are coming.' Longer clauses result from the expansion of the subject or predicate or both (for which see noun expressions 411 and verb expressions 414):

bém$_1$ kɔ́ mɛ́$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ nɛ bɛ̰̀a$_4$ bém kɔ́m$_5$ báraa$_6$ gan$_7$ rɛ́m$_8$ tɛ kɔfɛ́a$_9$ mbéa ʔbɔ$_{10}$ ná$_7$ 'this$_3$ child$_1$ of yours$_2$ who refused$_4$ my child$_5$ last year$_6$ can$_8$ not$_7$ work for her$_9$ (= come the in-law) again$_{10}$.'

The subject of a major clause is either a noun expression, a substitute expression, or a prepositional phrase.

421.111. The subject is a noun expression.[7] For example:

kó$_1$ kó mɛ́i$_2$ | bó$_3$ ba zaŋ$_4$ 'if$_3$ your$_2$ wife$_1$ should$_3$ become pregnant$_4$'
ó wí-ré$_1$ hárá sɔ́n$_2$ | mɔ̰́y$_3$ 'all$_2$ (the) people$_1$ gather$_3$'
wí-dɛ mɔ hám | gan bó ná 'there is no one to do things for me' (= 'person do thing for-me is not')

ŋma mɔ$_1$ wen kɔ́ rɛ́ hųsi$_2$ nɛ ríp$_3$-rɛ́$_4$ kpém$_5$ | gan bó ná$_6$ '(there) was not$_6$ one$_5$ thing$_1$ with which to hide$_2$ our$_4$ faces$_3$ (that is, ourselves)'

421.112. The subject is a substitute expression. These are either the personal pronouns, the demonstrative substitutes, or (occasionally) the numerative substitutes. In the case of 1S, 3S, and 2P pronouns, the subject may actually be a suffix of a preceding word, even a verb. For example:

gan wa$_1$ | ɔ́ wɔ$_2$ ná 'they$_1$ aren't hungry$_2$'
nɛm$_1$ yúum$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ gǫ́y$_4$ 'and I$_1$ run$_2$ (and) go$_3$ like this$_4$' (= 'run-I')
nɛi$_1$ gáy mɔ$_2$ 'and you$_1$ (should) make noise$_2$'
ǫɛ́$_1$ | rɛmà$_2$ rɛ́$_3$ 'this$_1$ is enough for$_2$ us$_3$'
kpém$_1$ | rɛmá$_2$ 'one$_1$ is sufficient$_2$'

421.113. The subject is a prepositional phrase. The only prepositional phrase which can function as a subject is one with kó 'of' standing alone without a head. The meaning is always like that of 'mine, hers,' etc. in English. For example:

kɛ́ rɛ́$_1$ | sɔná$_2$ 'ours$_1$ is all gone$_2$'
kó wa$_1$ | rǫ́ŋ$_2$ ná$_3$ 'theirs$_1$ is$_2$ not$_3$ good$_2$'

421.114. The subject is a clause. There is only one occurrence, the compound clause rǫ́k gán sɔ́n 'better than everything' (= 'is-good surpasses all') in the following:

ǫ́$_1$ mɔ$_2$ kó tí$_3$ ndɛ rɛ dɛái$_4$ | rǫká$_5$, mɛ$_6$ rǫ́k gán sɔ́n ná$_7$, mɛ rǫ́k gán sɔ́n | ɔ́$_8$ nɛ kó$_9$ kínɛɛ nɔ́ɔ$_{10}$ 'the former$_1$ things$_2$ of long ago$_3$ which we did$_4$ were good$_5$, but$_6$ (they) weren't altogether good$_7$, but that which is really good is$_8$ of$_9$ now$_{10}$'

421.12. Minor clauses. These subjectless clauses are very common in Gbɛya. The observed environments in which they occur are discussed in the following paragraphs. Clauses preceded by introductory subjects are discussed below in 422.2.

421.121. The subject may be omitted with directives. For example:

mɛ$_1$ tǫ́$_2$ há ó yǫ́$_3$ kó mɛ́$_4$, zɔ́k$_5$ 'you$_1$ tell$_2$ your$_4$ relatives$_3$, "Look$_5$"'
mbí$_1$ ye$_2$, káy$_3$ kamí$_4$, ɛrɛ$_5$ nɛ́$_6$ 'I$_1$ say$_2$, "Take$_3$ the food$_4$, let's$_5$ go$_6$"'
tɛ́$_1$ mɛ$_2$ nɛ́$_3$ 'come$_1$ (and) you$_2$ go$_3$'

421.122. The subject is omitted when the subject is impersonal or non-specific. Such clauses very often occur in expanded clauses (for which see below). Several verbs are commonly used in such clauses, such as: rɛm 'to be able,' dɛ 'to do,' ʔmɔn 'to remain,' ɔ 'to be,' bo 'to (not) be,' rǫk 'to be good.' For example:

wá yǫŋá geʔda, gó gan rɛ́m ná 'they ate a tremendous amount of manioc' (= 'they ate manioc, and not equal')
bó dɛ ze kpém 'after one month' (= 'when do month one')
nɛ ʔmɔ́n gǫ́y 'and just like that' (= 'and remains in this manner')
gan nɛ́ yųm kǫ́ ǫ́ rɛ́ ná '(it) won't bother us' (= 'will hurt of itself us not')

421.123. The subject may be omitted when it is indicated in an emphatic kó phrase (for which see 344) in the verb phrase. For example:

nɛ yáá kɔ́í wen-́dɛ saa 'but as for you, you run around playing' (= 'and stroll of-you affair-of make game')
kó$_1$ ó kó$_2$ kɛ́ rɛ́$_3$, á$_4$ kó ró kakó$_5$ 'as for$_1$ our$_3$ women$_2$, (they) wore$_4$ bustles$_5$'

421.124. The subject is omitted in clauses following auxiliaries. When the auxiliary has a noun subject, the verb in the dependent clause has no subject at all. When the auxiliary has no subject, the dependent clause has a pronominal subject. In addition, the subject may be omitted altogether for the reasons described in the other paragraphs of this section. For example:
bó$_1$ wá$_2$ tɔ̨$_3$ wen$_4$ 'if$_1$ they$_2$ should say$_3$ something$_4$'
wéey$_1$ bó$_2$ nɛ$_3$ kɔfɛ$_4$ 'when$_2$ a man$_1$ goes$_3$ working for a wife$_4$'
wéey$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ bó$_3$ tɛ$_4$ go$_5$ bó zɔk$_6$ gɔ̨́y$_7$ 'when$_3$ this$_2$ man$_1$ comes$_4$ and$_5$ when (he) sees$_6$ like this$_7$'

421.125. The subject is commonly omitted when it is already implied or explicit in the linguistic context. Most often the subject is the same as the one in the preceding clause, but it may also be the substantive in a preceding objective complement construction. The most common subjectless clause sequences are SV-V, V-SV, and V-V (where S means subject, C means connective, and V means verb), which are combined by parataxis, or the parallel ones combined by connectives: SVCV, VCSV, and VCV.[8]

(a) The subject is commonly omitted before the second and third predicate in a series joined paratactically, the meaning of which is additive or seriative. For example:
mise tɛ́$_1$ ákám$_2$ 'Monsieur$_1$ comes$_1$ (and) asks me$_2$'
tɛ$_1$ ri$_2$ fók$_3$ láŋgi$_4$ ná 'so$_1$ (the) water$_2$ won't flow$_3$ (and) run off$_4$'
wa$_1$ káy$_2$ wa$_3$ á$_4$ nu$_5$ 'they$_1$ take$_2$ them$_3$ (and) put$_4$ (them on the) ground$_5$'
wan to ʔbíí$_1$ mbéa$_2$ pį́$_3$ nu$_4$ ʔbɔ$_5$ 'Wan-to breaks off$_1$ another$_2$ (piece and) throws$_3$ (it on the) ground$_4$ also$_5$'

(b) The subject is commonly omitted before a verb of motion (such as: nɛ 'go,' tɛ 'to come,' si 'to return,' yar- 'to stroll,' kur- 'to arise,' etc.) when it is followed paratactically by a subject-predicate construction in which the subject is a pronoun, and the meaning of which is additive or seriative. For example:
nɛá$_1$ rɛ$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̨́$_4$ '(we) went$_1$ (and) we$_2$ slept$_3$ in the bush$_4$'
nɛ́$_1$ ą$_2$ gɔ́m$_3$ gúwá$_4$ '(he) goes$_1$ (and) he$_2$ cuts up$_3$ (some) firewood$_4$'
tɛ́$_1$ wa$_2$ gbɛ́$_3$ mbéa$_4$ '(they) come$_1$ (and) they$_2$ kill$_3$ another$_4$'
go$_1$ sí$_2$ wa$_3$ á$_4$ wa$_5$ tɛ-́bisa$_6$ mɛ$_7$ 'and$_1$ returning$_2$ they$_3$ put$_4$ them$_5$ in the young men's hut$_6$ there$_7$'
yáá$_1$ wa$_2$ bá$_3$ yarí$_4$ 'strolling about$_1$ they$_2$ take up$_3$ the search$_4$'

421.2. Secondary clauses. These are endocentric or exocentric constructions.

421.21. Endocentric secondary clauses are represented by interjections, terms used in direct address (such as, personal names, pronouns, titles, and kinship terms), the adverb gɔ̨́y 'like this,' and substantive expressions. In connected discourse, the adverb gɔ̨́y is sometimes to be translated 'that's the way it was,' or, when followed by another clause, 'this being the case.' The substantive expressions (single words or substantive phrases) are either declarative or interrogative in meaning.

(a) Interjections:
sóó$_1$ mbí$_2$ ye$_3$ náʔá 'so$_1$ I$_2$ said$_3$, "What!"'
bó$_1$ zɔká$_2$ nɛ óóʔ, nɛ wan to ʔburó$_3$ rii$_4$ á zɔ̂$_5$ 'when$_1$ (he) looked$_2$, oh, Wan-to had broken$_3$ the water$_4$ (pot) and spilled (it) on the ground$_5$'

(b) Address:
bɔy sɛ́ 'Bɔy-sɛ́'
yáam, wi zéé sɛ́ 'Father, listen.'

(c) Substantive expressions:
nɛ$_1$ tɔ̂ gende gá ye$_2$ mí ná$_3$ nɛ dila$_4$ 'and$_1$ (he) says$_2$, "Hey$_3$, (it's a) lion$_4$"'
déʔdé kóo$_1$ ín$_2$ ʔnáŋ kóo$_3$ 'a good woman$_1$ and$_2$ a bad woman$_3$'
wen$_1$ kó$_2$ fiyo$_3$ 'the subject$_1$ of$_2$ fetishes$_3$'
mɛ zɔ́k$_1$ wa$_2$ kusi$_3$, ŋma$_4$ bąráa$_5$ 'look at$_1$ (the) nine$_3$ (of) them$_2$, (one is) a$_4$ big one$_5$'
gende gá$_1$ kusi$_2$ 'in other words$_1$, nine$_2$,'
wen kó ge 'for what reason?'
wa$_1$ ʔdoŋ kpém$_2$ gɔ́ɔ$_3$ '(there are) six$_2$ (of) them$_1$ here$_3$'

(d) Particle, gende gá ye ge (see 353):
wen kó mɔ nɛ$_1$ gáy$_2$ wí-rɛ́$_3$ bó nɛ gaza ná$_4$ 'because$_1$ (they) say$_2$, a person$_3$ who is not circumcised$_4$'
mɔ gɔ̂y$_1$ á ye ge$_2$ bé-wéey$_3$ nɛ́ gaza$_4$ 'thus$_1$, (they) say that$_2$ a young man$_3$ should be circumcised$_4$'

421.22. Exocentric secondary clauses. These are described as consisting of two constituents which otherwise do not stand in syntactic relationship to each other. They are listed and illustrated in the following paragraphs.

421.221. Copula + substantive. The meaning is declarative. For example:
nɛ́ ture '(it was) morning'
nɛ kpána '(it is) a pot'
nɛ́ ge 'what (is it)?'

421.222. Substantive + copula phrase. For example:
mɔ nɛ́ zɛ 'it was night' (= 'thing copula night')
mɔ nɛ́ kam 'food is a real thing' (= 'thing copula food')

421.223. Substantive + connective sɛ́ 'then.' The meaning is 'so-and-so would be more effective,' 'so-and-so is preferable,' etc. The construction is probably elliptical. For sɛ́ see 332.6. Examples are:
ŋgombe sɛ́ '(use) a gun instead (of a spear)'
ré kɔ́í sɛ́ 'your own village (is where you are treated right)'
ʔdoŋ-wáá-ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̂ sɛ́ 'the path through the bush by preference (because it's shorter)'

421.224. Substantive + substantive. The meaning is declarative or equational. In a clausal context there is probably a difference between an endocentric phrase such as zu-́wa taa 'their three heads' and zu-́wa taa 'their heads are three' (that is, 'there were three of them'). The latter only can always take the verb ɔ 'to be.' For example:

mí ąi. 'Here I am! (= 'I this')
mɔ mí? 'Who me?' (= 'thing I')
zu-́wa ré ge 'how many are there?' (= 'their heads, how many?')
sɔ́n ʔbú zúa ríîto 'altogether (there are) twelve'
mbɛ́tí kɔ́m kpém mbɛ́tí ką́ ą (ellipsis of mbɛ́tí ɔ́ kpém ín mbɛ́tí ką́ á)
'my book (is) the same as his book' (= 'book of-me one book of him')

421.225. Substantive + prepositional phrase. The following are unique:

go$_1$ bá$_2$ ą$_3$ nɛ ŋma béem$_4$ ínaa$_5$ 'so$_1$ (he) takes$_2$ him$_3$ (Monsieur) and a child$_4$ (comes along) with him$_5$'
mɛrsíi$_1$ há$_2$ nzapá$_3$ 'thanks$_1$ to$_2$ God$_3$'

421.226. Substantive + clause introduced by the connective mɔ́. The following example is the only one which occurs in the corpus:

mbɛ́tí$_1$ mɔ́m$_2$ hɛ́áa$_3$ 'books$_1$ for me$_2$ to buy$_3$' (in answer to 'What do you want?')

421.227. Substantive + quotative particle ye (ge). The substantive functions as the subject of the clause:

mbí$_1$ ye$_2$, dila$_3$ baá$_4$ ą$_5$ 'I$_1$ said$_2$, "A lion$_3$ got$_4$ him$_5$"'
ó sɔ́kái$_1$ ye ge$_2$ bé-wéey$_3$ nɛ́ gaza$_4$ 'the elders$_1$ say$_2$ (that) boys$_3$ (should) be circumcised$_4$'

421.228. Substantive + connective há + substantive. The meaning is equational or identificational:

yíním$_1$ há yám-wara 'my name$_1$ is Yám-wara'
kam$_1$ há mɔ$_2$ 'food$_1$ is a (real) thing$_2$'
saʔde$_1$ nɛ nɛà$_2$ ą́$_3$ gbɛá$_4$ há dilai$_5$ wéndé 'the animal$_1$ which he$_3$ went$_2$ (and) killed$_4$, is (it) a lion$_5$?'

421.229. Secondary clause + negative marker ná. The meaning is negative declaration except when the clause ends with the connective sɛ́ in which case the meaning is a question which requests confirmation of a statement. Such constructions occur with the types of clauses described above in coordinate paragraphs 221, 222, 223, 228, as well as with the adverb gɔ̨́y. For example:

gɔ̨́y ná 'that isn't the way'
gɔ̨́y sɛ́ ná 'isn't that the way?'
nɛ́ saa ná 'it's no fun'
ŋginza$_1$ há kam$_2$ ná 'money$_1$ is not food$_2$'

422. Complex sentences. These consist of principal clauses preceded by constructions, usually substantive phrases, of three types: (1) expansions of the subject, (2) expansions of the verb phrase, and (3) introductory constructions. The term "expansion" is used for the types (1), and (2) is chosen for convenience only. The expansion may simply be a word that more normally occurs in the verb phrase itself. It is, moreover, not always useful to describe these complex sentences as being correlated with some kernel or basic simple sentence type. For example, in several instances, the subject

expansion contains no more morphemes than a simple subject contains. What characterizes all of these preposed elements, regardless of their meaning or syntactic function, is first that they serve as devices for emphasis, although this is not always obvious in sentences of type 3. A second feature characteristic of these constructions is the manner in which they are joined to the verb phrase or clause. A third feature is that the expanded sentence often contains a substantive phrase, one of whose constituents is a dependent clause equivalent in English to a relative clause in attribution. Since there is an observable limit to the size of a verb phrase, it is very likely that the technique utilized in type 2 is a means of avoiding overloading the verb phrase.

In order to represent the constructions in formulae, certain symbols are adopted. A period (.) serves only to separate the symbols and allow for easier reading. Parentheses in the formulae enclose elements which are optional. Thus, A = adverb, AV = auxiliary verb, C = connective (Ca = {a}, Cɛ = sɛ́ tɛ, Cg = go, Cn = nɛ, Co = só kó), H = pause (as in "hold" or "hiatus"), N = noun or substitute (N-́N = nouns in construction with relational morpheme, Na = noun with determinant suffix, Ni = interrogative substitute, Nl = locative substantive, Np = pronoun, Ns = any substitute, Nt = temporal substantive, noun, or substitute), P = preposition (Pn = preposition nɛ, PP = prepositional phrase), QV = quotative verb, S = subject (Si = interrogative subject, Sn = noun subject, Sp = pronoun subject, Snd = Sn with dependent clause attribute, Spd = Sp with dependent clause attribute), SC = secondary clause, V = verb, VP = verb phrase, with or without subject.

422.1. Expansions of the subject. An expanded subject has the function of emphasis and can often be translated 'it . . . who/which . . .,' or 'as for . . .' It can also conveniently be compared to the use of 'c'est . . . qui . . .' in French. The various types of complex sentences with expanded subjects are represented by the following formulae: S.Ca.V; S.C.(SP).V; S.C.AV.(Sp).V; Si.Ca.V; SC.Ca.QV.

(a) S.Ca.V.

Sn.Ca.V: dila$_1$ a nɛ́$_2$ kɛ̧́ ɛ̧́ '(the) lion$_1$ went on$_2$'

Snd.Ca.V: makunzi$_1$ nɛ ɔá$_2$ zaŋ-réi$_3$ á nɛà$_4$ wéndé 'did$_4$ (the) chief$_1$ who was$_2$ in the village$_3$ go$_4$?'

Sp.Ca.V (uncommon): mí á ʔmɔná gom zɔ́kaaí 'me, I kept on looking at him' (= 'me and remained and-I look-at-him')

(b) S.C.(Sp).V.

Sn.Ca.Sp.V: ó gbɛ̧rɛ́ ín$_1$ dila$_2$, a wa$_3$ yáá yarí$_4$ 'Lizard with$_1$ (the) Lion$_2$, they$_3$ were hunting$_4$'

Sp.Ca.Sp.V: wa$_1$ a wa$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ mɛ gɔ́ɔ$_3$ '(here) they$_1$ come$_2$ over here$_3$'

Spd.Ca.Sp.V: wa$_1$ ndɛ wa ŋmgbán ŋmgbáni$_2$, a wa$_1$ yɔ̧́ŋ$_2$ kó wa mɔ rɔy$_3$, 'they$_1$ who take off$_2$ (the circumcision clout), they$_1$ eat$_2$ anything$_3$ (they want)'

Sn.H.Sp.V: ó saʔde$_1$, wá$_2$ gió$_3$ dɔ̧́$_4$ '(the) animals$_1$, they$_2$ prepared$_3$ beer$_4$' (from a fable)

Spd.H.Sp.V: wa$_1$ ndɛ wa yá nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-búki$_2$, wa$_1$ dɔ́$_3$ 'they$_1$ who stand leeward$_2$, they$_1$ burn$_3$ (the grass)'

(c) S.C.AV.(Sp).V. Although the subject of the dependent clause following the auxiliary verb is not properly under discussion here, there is in fact a correlation between the subjectival element which precedes the main verb and that which occurs with the dependent clause. (The real subject is of course always the same, but it has already been pointed out in 421.124 that whereas a nominal subject can only precede the auxiliary, the pronominal form generally occurs in the dependent clause.) In the following I have supplied some patterns (marked by asterisk) which I am rather certain occur although they do not occur in the corpus:

Sn.H.AV.Sp.V: ó yą́$_1$ kɔ́í$_2$ sɔ́n$_3$, bó$_4$ wá$_5$ hɔ$_6$ lɛkɔ́ɔl$_7$ 'all$_3$ your$_2$ buddies$_1$, when$_4$ they$_5$ get out of$_6$ school$_7$'

Sp.H.AV.Sp.V: wí$_1$, nɛ́í$_2$ gun$_3$ rɛ́$_4$ 'you$_1$, you'll$_2$ (be the one to) bury$_3$ us$_4$'

*Sn.Ca.AV.V: dila$_1$ a nɛ́$_2$ gbɛ$_3$ ą$_4$ '(the) lion$_1$ will$_2$ kill$_3$ him$_4$'

*Sp.Ca.AV.Sp.V: ɛ́rɛ́$_1$ a bɛ́$_2$ rɛ́$_1$ nɛá$_3$ 'we$_1$, if$_2$ we$_1$ should go$_3$'

(d) Si.Ca.V. The Si is either the interrogative substitute o 'who?' or a noun phrase consisting of a noun + ge 'what?' It is my impression that if the latter occurs, and if the noun is an animate being, then an Sp can, although rarely, occur following the C. This type of interrogative sentence (with the subject as the focus of the question), if not exclusive, is certainly predominant. I am not certain of any equivalent simple SV type of sentence. Examples are:

o$_1$ a nɛ́$_2$ dųŋ$_3$ ką́-fɔrɔ$_4$ o$_1$ ndé 'who$_1$ is going to$_2$ stay$_3$ by (the) elephant$_4$?'

zu-́wa ré ge a wa gɔ́m te ge ndé 'how many are there who are chopping wood?' (= 'head of them how many and they chop wood what?')

(e) SC.Ca.QV. This is a unique utterance, the SC representing a secondary clause used in direct address. Ordinarily, if the QV has a grammatical subject at all, it is joined to it paratactically (for which see 353). For example:

foo$_1$ kę́ ę́$_2$ ná ndé, á ye ge$_3$ '(he said), "my$_2$ in-laws$_1$, (they) say$_3$."'

422.2. Expansions of the verb phrase. Substantives or adverbs which normally occur in the verb phrase are preposed to it, and are joined paratactically—but marked by pause—or by certain connectives. Unlike the discussion of expansion of the subject, it is here convenient to assume a basic S.V construction so as to more easily describe the various types of expansions. (In this discussion, it is immaterial whether or not there is a grammatical subject, and the clause is represented in the formulae by VP.) These types are the following: (1) object expansions, (2) temporal expansions, and (3) locative expansions. Subtypes, where they occur, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

422.21. Object expansions. The term "object" is here being used to cover those substantives which occur as (1) "direct objects" of the verb, as (2) complements of prepositions, or as (3) attributes of other substantives. The symbol N shall represent nouns except when followed by a lower case letter. The various types of object expansions are represented by the following formulae: (1) VP.N > N.C.VP.(Np), (2) VP.Ni > Ni.C.VP, (3) VP.N^1-́N^2 > N^2.Ca.VP.N^{1}a, (4) VP.Pn.N > N.C.VP.Pn, (5) VP.P.N > N.C.P.Ns.

422.211. VP.N > N.C.VP.(Np). The N is a direct object complement of the verb. The C is either pause, {a}, or só kó. If the N is an animate being, the expanded form may have Np.[9] For example:

gɔ̨i$_1$ á wá$_2$ gbɛá$_3$ (ą) 'it's the leopard$_1$ which they$_2$ killed$_3$'
dɔ̨ɔ́-zee mbé wen, óró gió '(they said), "we have prepared beer with which to hear something new"' (= 'beer hear new word we prepared')
ɛn-́tɛ$_1$ -ɔ̨́ wen$_2$ sɔ́n, á yɔ̨́$_3$ kó ró$_4$ tɔ̨́$_5$ '(they said), our$_4$ friends$_3$ are telling$_5$ just$_1$ old stories$_2$'
kpána$_1$ ndɛ wa$_2$ giɔ̀$_3$ nɛ́ dɔ̨ɔ́i$_4$ só kɔ̨́ ɔ̨́ baái$_5$ '(he said), "it's (the) pot$_1$ with which they$_2$ prepared$_3$ the beer$_4$ that I took$_5$."'

422.212. VP.Ni > Ni.C.VP. This perhaps could have been included in the preceding. The Ni is the interrogative substitute ge 'what?' or a noun phrase with ge as its complement. The C is either {a} or só kó. Although the basic form does occur, it is the expanded form which is by far more common. For example:

wen kó ge$_1$ á mɛ́$_2$ mbunzú$_3$ nɛ mɛ nɛ́$_4$ gɔ́ɔ$_5$, gbɛ́$_6$ toró$_7$ kɔ́m$_8$ wen-́ge ndé 'why is it$_1$ that you$_2$, white man$_3$ who are going$_4$ there$_5$, kill$_6$ my$_8$ dog$_7$?'
ge$_1$ a tó ró$_2$ dɛ$_3$ wen kó$_4$ saʔdei$_5$ ge$_1$ '(he said), "what$_1$ should we$_2$ do$_3$ with$_4$ the meat$_5$?"'

422.213. VP.N^1-́N^2 > N^2.Ca.VP.N^1a. The construction N-́N consists of two nouns with the cooccurring relational morpheme (for which see 212.2). In the expanded construction, the second, that is, attributive, noun occurs in preposed position whereas the first noun is in the VP. This first noun also occurs with the determinant suffix {-a}. The formula is applicable to what data I have, but it is obvious that there are semantic restrictions. Examples are:

zɔ́ŋá$_1$ kó wa$_2$ nɔ́ɔ$_3$ gɔ́ɔ$_4$, a ndó ró$_5$ tɛ$_6$ kɔfɛ́a$_7$ '(they said), "This$_3$ here$_4$ adolescent girl$_1$ of theirs$_2$, we are going to$_5$ come to$_6$ work for her$_7$"'
ʔbay$_1$ yo$_2$ kpém ɔ̨$_3$ kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋáa$_4$ '(he said), "It's just$_1$ (the) pelt$_2$ that I$_3$ want$_4$."'

422.214. VP.Pn.N > N.C.VP.Pn. Except that the N is the complement of the preposition nɛ́, this construction closely resembles that of 422.211 above. Here also the preposition may be followed by a pronoun if the noun is an animate being, but it is entirely optional. The C is either pause, {a}, or {go}. It is very likely that só kó can also occur. Examples are:

ɔ̨ɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ$_1$, nɛ́m$_2$ si nɛ́$_3$ 'this here$_1$, I'm going to$_2$ return with (it)$_3$'
mbé$_1$ tį̀i$_2$ a nɛ́m$_3$ dɛ$_4$ nɛ́$_5$ 'it's a new$_1$ canoe$_2$ that I'm going to$_3$ make$_4$ with$_5$ (it)'
yóa$_1$ go ro$_2$ péę́$_3$ nɛ́$_4$ '(they said), "It's the pelt$_1$ we$_2$ are returning$_3$ with$_4$."'

422.215. VP.P.N. > N.C.P.Ns. The preposition is any one but nɛ́. The C is either pause or {a}. If the N is an animate being, the Ns is a personal pronoun; if not, it is one of the other substitutes. The latter sentences are, as a matter of fact, uncommon. Examples are:

ó sɔ́kái$_1$ nɛ yá$_2$ mɛi$_3$, a nɛ́m$_4$ tɔ̨ wen$_5$ ɛ́n$_6$ wa$_7$ 'the elders$_1$ who live$_2$ there$_3$, I'm going to$_4$ talk$_5$ with$_6$ them$_7$'

réi ám kurò há sɛnɛ́ 'it's from the village that I departed' (= 'the village I departed from there')

422.22. Temporal expansions. The word temporal is here being used for any word or phrase the meaning of which is time or sequence. These are nouns or substitutes (symbolized by Nt) or adverbs (symbolized by A). The Nt expansions are by far the commonest, A being in fact represented by only one adverb.

The words occurring most often are the following: kúkutí 'first,' sɔ́ɔ 'today,' oróai 'later,' kíncɛ 'now,' wesé 'day, today,' ture 'morning,' mbóro 'evening,' kɔ́raai 'later,' zɛ́ɛ 'yesterday,' bɛrɛ 'dry season,' ʔmaa 'rainy season,' ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ 'all the time.'

The C is either pause, {a}, sɛ́ tɛ, só kó, or nɛ. The complex sentences with temporal expansions are represented by the following formulae: VP.Nt > Nt.C.VP, VP.A > A.Cn.VP. It should be noted that the use of different connectives is especially significant here since they have lexical meaning as well as grammatical function. For example:

kínɛɛ nɔ́ɔ$_1$, wen$_2$ kɔ́m$_3$ sɔná$_4$ 'now$_1$ my$_3$ story$_2$ is finished$_4$'
wesé$_1$-nɛ$_2$ kay$_3$ toyí$_4$ a ʔnáŋi$_5$ wéndé. 'Did it break$_5$ (on) the day$_1$ of going to$_2$ get$_3$ the baggage$_4$?'
kínɛɛ nɔ́ɔ a mɛ zɔ́k$_1$ mbɛ́tí$_2$ kɔ́ mɛ́$_3$ 'now look at$_1$ your$_3$ book$_2$'
bɛrɛ$_1$ ndɛ wa$_2$ há$_3$ ŋginza$_4$ 'they$_2$ give$_3$ money$_4$ (in the) dry season$_1$'
bɛrɛ sɛ́ tɛ wa há ŋginza 'they'll give money in the dry season'
bɛrɛ sókó wá há ŋginza '(in the past) they gave money in the dry season'
zu-́ture$_1$ ndɛ wa$_2$ tɔ̨́ wenáa$_3$ ʔbɔ$_4$ '(in the) morning$_1$ they$_2$ talked about it$_3$ again$_4$'
oróai$_1$ go bą́$_2$ ą́ gą́á$_3$ 'later$_1$, when$_2$ it had settled down$_3$'
ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ$_1$ ną ą$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ wen$_4$-́dɛ$_5$ mɔ$_6$ 'he$_2$ always$_1$ comes$_3$ to$_4$ do$_5$ things$_6$'

422.23. Locative expansions. These are nouns or noun phrases meaning place. They are represented by the symbol Nl. The complex sentences with locative expansions are represented by the formula VP.Nl > Nl.C.VP. The C is either pause or the connective {a}. For example:

tɛ-́kɔ̨$_1$-ríp$_2$-ó tų́ wí-ré$_3$, kóo$_4$ nɛ bó rɔ̨k$_5$ ʔdɛ́$_6$ 'in$_1$ the eyes of$_2$ black people$_3$, a woman$_4$ who is very$_6$ good$_5$'
fara$_1$ ndɛ rɛ$_2$ ɔá$_3$ sɛnɛ́$_4$, á gan$_5$ am$_6$ zɔk$_7$ wa$_8$ ná$_5$ '(the) place$_1$ where we$_2$ were$_3$, I$_6$ didn't$_5$ see$_7$ them$_8$ there$_4$'

422.3. Introductory constructions. These differ from the preceding two in that the introductory constructions can not be incorporated in the S or VP of a basic sentence. They are of three types: modal, explanatory, and instrumental.

422.31. Modal constructions. These consist of the adverb gɔ̨́y 'like this, in this manner' or the phrase mɔ gɔ̨́y (= 'thing like-this') with the same meaning. In these complex sentences, however, their meaning is something like 'this being the case, the preceding having happened,' etc., for they serve to mark the connection between sentences in connected discourse in very much the same way that words like "however" and "therefore" do in English. The name modal is derived from the lexical meaning of the adverb gɔ̧́y and is used instead of "sequence" to distinguish it from the sequence words included in the discussion of temporal expansions. Complex sentences with introductory modal constructions (M) are represented by the formula M.C.VP where the C is either pause {a}, nɛ, só kó, {go}, or sɛ́ tɛ. For example:

mɔ gɔ̧́y, ɛrɛ$_1$ áŋ$_2$ nzapá$_3$ wenáa$_4$ gɔ̧́y gɔ̧́y$_5$ 'so we$_1$ asked$_2$ God$_3$ about it$_4$ for a long time$_5$'
mɔ gɔ̧́y nɛm$_1$ bá$_2$ velóo$_3$ kɔ́m$_4$ 'so I$_1$ took$_2$ my$_4$ bike$_3$'
mɔ gɔ̧́y só ká̧ á̧$_1$ tɔ̧́$_2$ 'therefore he$_1$ said$_2$'
mɔ gɔ̧́y á ye ge 'therefore (he) says'

422.32. Explanatory constructions. These are either nouns (or noun phrases) or prepositional phrases with the prepositions kó 'of,' or nɛ́ 'with.' Such complex sentences are represented by the formulae N.C.VP and PP.C.VP. In the first, C is either the connective {a} or nɛ. In the second, C is pause. Where N is the noun mɔ 'thing,' the meaning is 'that's why the following happens'; where the N is either mɔ 'thing,' ɛ̧́ 'this,' or some other noun, the meaning is 'since this happens, the following results.' The prepositional phrase means 'as for the subject of the sentence,' and its function is to emphasize the subject. Examples are:

mɔ nɛ oro$_1$ tɔ̧́$_2$ hó wa$_3$ gɔ́ɔ, wí-ré$_4$ bó$_5$ zee$_6$ '(they said), "Since we$_1$ have told$_2$ them$_3$, if$_5$ someone$_4$ should hear$_6$ (that) . . . ,'
ɛ̧́ nɛ ó toró$_1$ du̧ŋɔ́$_2$ bá$_3$ nɛ$_4$ yɔ̧́ŋ$_5$ na̧$_6$ a̧$_7$ fó$_8$ wa$_9$ há sɛnɛ́$_{10}$ ná$_{11}$ 'since (the) dogs$_1$ continue$_2$ to seize$_3$ and$_4$ eat$_5$ (it) and$_6$ he$_7$ does not$_{11}$ chase$_8$ them$_9$ from there$_{10}$,'
mɔí$_1$ á saakara$_2$ ɔ́$_3$ saŋa-wáam$_4$ wenáai$_1$ 'that's why$_1$ there are$_3$ islands$_2$ in (the) Wáam (river)$_4$,'
nɛ$_1$ kɔ́m$_2$, am$_3$ tɔ̧́$_4$ 'and$_1$ as for me$_2$, I$_3$ say$_4$,'
nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_1$-yɔ̧́ŋá yín$_2$ áí$_3$ gbɛá$_4$ a̧$_5$ '(it is) because of$_1$ fortitude$_2$ that you$_3$ killed$_4$ it$_5$,'
nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá$_1$ nɔ́ɔ$_2$ a kó$_3$ kɔ́m$_4$ saà$_5$ yínaa$_6$ 'it is because of$_1$ this$_2$ that my$_4$ wife$_3$ exposed$_5$ his name$_6$.'

423. Compound sentences. These consist of various combinations of sentence types: Principal + Principal, Principal + Nonprincipal, Nonprincipal + Principal, and Nonprincipal + nonprincipal. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

423.1. Principal + Principal. These consist of unrestricted combinations of major and minor clauses joined by connectives or by parataxis. The use of connectives has already been illustrated in 330. Of a different type are those compound sentences whose meaning is seriative or additive, the combination being effected as often by parataxis as by a connective (which is more frequently go than nɛ). In one type of such compound sentences, the first verb is a motion verb which often adds little more to the meaning of the sentence than does the verb 'go' in the English sentence 'Why did you go and hit him?' In the other type of compound sentence, the first verb is not a motion verb and the second verb either marks a closely related and subsequent event to the first or in some way qualifies the first.

When the first clause consists of a verb and an objective complement, the second clause indicates what is done with the object. The verbs most often used in the second clause to qualify the first are rɔ̨k 'to be good,' gan 'to surpass,' dɔk 'to be many,' rɛm 'to be able, equal,' yɛ̨r- 'to be far.' Perhaps the verb bo 'to not be,' which occurs in a negated clause bó ná 'it is not' following a future clause with nɛ should be included in this list. Its use is emphatic, for a simple negative sentence is possible.

Since there is no apparent structural significance either in the omission of the grammatical subject (other than what has been noted in 421.12) or in the inclusion or exclusion of the connective (as illustrated by nɛá gɛ rɛ ɔ́ zɔ̨́ and nɛá rɛ ɔ́ zɔ̨́ 'we went and slept in the bush'), no distinction is made in the citation of the examples below except for these following comments: (1) where the subject occurs twice, they are always pronouns, and (2) where the subject occurs with the second and not with the first verb, the first verb, if not a motion verb, is joined by a connective.

423.11. Motion verbs:

gɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ yáá$_3$ rɛ nɛ́$_4$ gɔ̨́y$_5$ 'so$_1$ we$_2$ walked around$_3$ (and) went on$_4$ like this$_5$'
go$_1$ mɛ yú$_2$ mɛ sí$_3$ 'so$_1$ run$_2$ (and) go back$_3$'
mise tɛ́$_1$ ákám$_2$ 'Monsieur comes$_1$ (and) asks me$_2$'
gbɛ̨rɛ́ nɛá$_1$ go$_2$ ák$_3$ dila$_4$ '(the) Lizard went$_1$ and$_2$ asked$_3$ (the) Lion$_4$'
go$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ ą$_3$ yóó$_4$ mɛ$_5$ 'then (he) goes$_2$ he$_3$ stands$_4$ there$_5$'
nɛ ʔmɔná gom yú 'and I kept on running' (= 'remained and I run')
mise nɛá$_1$, gó$_2$ nɛà ndɔ́ɔ́$_3$ dila$_4$ 'Monsieur went$_1$, and$_2$ (he) went (and) shot$_3$ (the) lion$_4$'
kpa dé mɔ ná tɛ́$_1$ kɛ̨ ɛ̨ . . . , gó$_2$ tɛá$_3$ go$_4$ áy$_5$ oro-rɛ́$_6$ 'Kpa-dé-mɔ-ná comes$_1$, and$_2$ (he) came$_3$ and$_4$ called$_5$ after us$_6$'

423.12. Nonmotion verbs:

go$_1$ wa$_2$ káy$_3$ wa$_4$ wa$_5$ sí nɛ́$_6$ 'so$_1$ they$_2$ take$_3$ them$_4$ (and) they$_5$ return with$_6$ (them)'
wa káy wa á$_1$ nu$_2$ 'they take them (and) put$_1$ (them on the) ground$_2$'
toá$_1$ gɛ rɛ$_2$ yóó$_3$ ką́-zaŋ-́ri$_4$ 'cutting across$_1$ (the field) we$_2$ stood$_3$ (on the) bank of (the) stream$_4$'
go$_1$ bá$_2$ ą$_3$ sí nɛ́$_4$ 'and$_1$ (she) takes$_2$ her$_3$ (and) returns with$_4$ (her)'
ną ą dɛ́ mɔ rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́ 'and she does things well' (= 'does thing is-good very')
ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán nzapà ná 'nothing surpasses God' (= 'nothing is strong surpasses God')
ą dɛ́ go rɛ́m 'he does (it) as he is supposed to' (= 'he does and it-is-equal')
gan nɛ́m pį nu bó ná 'I won't throw it down' (= 'negative go-I throw ground is not')
te wayà dɔ́k '(the) tree bore a lot of fruit' (= 'tree bore is-much')

423.2. Principal + Nonprincipal. These consist of major clauses that precede one of the following types of nonprincipal clauses: quotative clause (consisting of the quotative verb, with or without a grammatical subject, and its dependent clause), a noun in direct address, a clause consisting of the copula and its complement, an interrogative clause, or the stative ą. For example:

nɛm$_1$ tɔ̨́$_2$ mbí ye, ɔ̨hɛ́ɛ́$_3$, nɛ́m$_4$ nɛá$_5$ 'and I$_1$ said$_2$, "All right$_3$, I'll$_4$ go$_5$"'
am$_1$ mbáí$_2$, sɔ́ráam$_3$. 'I$_1$ greet you$_2$, Uncle$_3$.'
ŋma$_1$ feà$_2$ tí$_3$ nɛ bé-wéey$_4$ 'one$_1$ died$_2$ before$_3$, (it was) a boy$_4$'
rɔ̨́k tɛɛ́m nɛ́ saa ná 'I like it very much' (= 'is-good my-body no joke')
wá gboá nɛ mbɛ́tɛ 'they really arrived' (= 'they arrived truth')
mɛ gbɛ́ toró kɔ́m wen-́ge ndé. 'Why do you kill my dog?' (= 'you kill my dog what affair?')
am dɛ́ kpém kɔ̨-́sɛra ín mɛ́ ná ré ge ndé. 'What do you mean, I'm not friendly with you!'
dila$_1$ baá$_2$ ą$_3$ ąi. '(The) lion$_1$ got$_2$ him$_3$.'
ndɛ rɛ$_1$ kúú$_2$ há$_3$ sɛn-́fara$_4$-́saʔde$_5$ mɛí$_6$ ąi. 'So we$_1$ departed$_2$ from$_3$ the place$_4$ of the animal$_5$ there$_6$.'

423.3. Nonprincipal + Principal. These consist of interjections, exclamations, or substantives in direct address followed by principal clauses. They are usually joined by parataxis, but there are examples with the connectives nɛ and go, such as:

óʔ dila$_1$ kayá$_2$ wa$_3$ 'Oh, (the) lion$_1$ got$_2$ them$_3$'
ɔ́ɔ́ʔ nɛ kéey dɛ́m 'Oh, and I was afraid'
wan to, mɛ$_1$ tɛ́$_2$ 'Wan-to, you$_1$ come$_2$'
mise ndé nɛ mɛ tɛ́ 'say Monsieur, come'
yáam$_1$, goi$_2$ tɔ̨́$_3$ gɔ̨́y$_4$ wéndé. 'Father$_1$, so you$_2$ are talking$_3$ like this$_4$?'

423.4. Nonprincipal + Nonprincipal. These consist of interjections followed by a substantive in direct address or of substantives in direct address followed by a noun (in which case the nonprincipal clause means 'it is . . . '). For example:

ʄi mise 'yes, Monsieur'
mí ná nɛ dila '(he said to me), hey, it's a lion' (= 'me and lion')

430. Combining processes. The different syntactic elements previously described are combined by the use of connectives and by parataxis. Since connectives have been treated at great length (330), only parataxis is now discussed. Either the same or different elements are joined by parataxis, and its function varies accordingly.

431. Same elements, either substantives, adverbs, verb phrases, or clauses, are repeated two or more times and joined paratactically with the following meanings: emphasis or intensity, duration or continuation, distribution, and addition of information.

(a) Emphasis or intensity:

ɔ́ɔ́ʔ mise, nɛ́$_1$ gɛk$_2$ sɛ́, mise nɛ́ gɛk sɛ́. 'Oh, Monsieur, go$_1$ slowly$_2$, Monsieur go slowly.'

ri$_1$ ɔ́$_2$ dɔ́ka$_3$ dɔ́ka 'there is$_2$ very much$_3$ water$_1$'
dɛ́$_1$ kam$_3$ wen kó$_3$ wa$_4$ ŋmą̂ŋ ŋmą̂ŋ$_5$ ŋmą̂ŋ ŋmą̂ŋ '(she) makes$_1$ food$_2$ for$_3$ them$_4$ all the time$_5$'

(b) Duration or continuation:

péé ʔdoŋ$_1$ gɔ̨̂y$_2$ gɔ̨̂y gɔ̨̂y '(we) kept on returning$_1$ (home) like this$_2$'
dų́ŋ$_1$ wa$_2$ yú$_3$ wey$_4$ wa nɛ́i$_5$ nɛ́i nɛ́i nɛ́i 'they$_2$ kept on$_1$ following$_3$ (the) fire$_4$ (and) went on$_5$ and on and on and on'
dų́ŋ$_1$ wa$_2$ dɔ́m$_3$ fɛ̨ra$_4$, dɔ́m fɛ̨ra 'he$_2$ kept on$_1$ blowing$_3$ (the) whistle$_4$, blowing the whistle'
mise dų́ŋ$_1$ kííí$_2$ kííí nɛm$_3$ ʔbóó$_4$, kííí nɛm ʔbóó, kííí nɛm ʔbóó 'Monsieur kept$_1$ turning (it) over$_2$ and I$_3$ skinned$_4$ (it), (he) turned it and I skinned it, (he) turned it and I skinned it'
dų́ŋ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ ʔmá$_3$ wa$_4$ ndɛ$_5$ wa$_6$ láŋgí$_7$ ndɛ wa láŋgí ndɛ wa láŋgí 'we$_2$ kept on$_1$ tracking$_3$ them$_4$ and$_5$ they$_6$ went on ahead$_7$, and they went on ahead, and they went on ahead'

(c) Distribution (being translated 'each, every' as well as 'one by one'):

ną̂ ą̂$_1$ zį̂$_2$ nɛ́ pɛ$_3$ pɛ 'he'll$_1$ get bigger$_2$ each year$_3$'
ndɛ$_1$ rɛ$_2$ hɔ́$_3$ nɛ́ wesé wesé$_4$ 'and$_1$ we$_2$ come out$_3$ every day$_4$'
ɛrɛ$_1$ yú$_2$ kpém kpém kpém$_3$ sɔ́n$_4$ 'each$_3$ and every one$_4$ of us$_1$ fled$_2$'
wa$_1$ yá$_2$ nɛ wéey$_3$ wéey sɔ́n$_4$ 'each and every one$_4$ of them$_1$ was$_2$ a real man$_3$'

(d) Addition of information:

nɛi$_1$ tɔ̨̂$_2$ gáa$_3$, tɔ̨̂ bɔɔ$_4$ gáa 'and you$_1$ talk$_2$ like this$_3$, talk foolishness$_4$ like this'
dila$_1$ tɛá$_2$, go$_3$ ákaa$_4$, ák gbɛ̨rɛ́ '(the) Lion$_1$ came$_2$ and$_3$ asked him$_4$, asked (the) Lizard'
nɛ$_1$ fó$_2$ wa$_3$ zą̂a$_4$, wotóo$_5$ fó wa zą̂a 'and$_1$ (we) chased$_2$ them$_3$ (out of the way) in vain$_4$, (the) car$_5$ chased them away in vain'

432. Different elements (but either parallel substantive expressions or clauses) are joined paratactically with several functions.

432.1. Substantives are joined paratactically for apposition or explanation. For example:

mɛ́$_1$ wí-ré$_2$ nɛ bó$_3$ mɛ́$_4$ kɔ̨ ʔdoŋ$_5$-́kiʔdi$_6$ mɔ$_7$ 'you$_1$ person$_2$, when$_3$ you$_4$ want to$_5$ hunt$_6$ something$_7$'
sɔ́rám bana bóy '(paternal) uncle Bana-bóy'
gbó$_1$ ri$_2$ tiya '(we) arrived$_1$ at Tiya Creek$_2$'
ó dila$_1$ wa$_2$ tɛ́$_3$ '(the) lions$_1$ they$_2$ come$_3$'
é$_1$ ŋma$_2$ wí-ré$_3$ sɛnɛ́$_4$, wí-mbóá zu$_5$ 'put$_1$ some$_2$ person$_3$ there$_4$, (some) responsible person$_5$'
ą̂$_1$ baà$_2$ yám-wara, bém$_3$ kó wa$_4$ 'he$_1$ took$_2$ Yám-wara, their$_4$ child$_3$'
á$_1$ kó ró$_2$ kakó$_3$, lúŋmgbé, wéndé gan$_4$ kɛ́rá, wéndé gán gbɔgbɔl 'they$_2$ put on$_1$ bustles$_3$, lúŋmgbé or$_4$ kɛ́rá or gbɔgbɔl (ones)'
am$_1$ kɔ̨̂ ʔdoŋ$_2$-́usi$_3$ wen kó$_4$ biro$_5$, biro$_6$-́gbɛ$_7$ ŋmaá$_8$ 'I$_1$ want to$_2$ explain$_3$ about$_4$ wars$_5$, wars$_6$ (in which they) killed$_7$ each other$_8$'
ó wí-réi$_1$ wí-gida$_2$ kó wai$_3$ ye ge 'the people$_1$, (that is) their$_3$ enemies$_2$, said'

432.2. Clauses are joined paratactically to indicate explanation, qualification, or succession of events; other functions of this device may exist, but these are the most common.[10] On the other hand, not all instances of such parataxis may have demonstrable functions of these kinds, for parataxis is a very common device in the language, especially in narratives, where the omission of connectives may simply be a device for speeding up (or giving the impression of speeding up) the narration. Evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that it was not possible to detect any meaningful contrast between many clauses joined by some connective (especially nɛ and go) and those that were not. Two features characteristic of such clauses are that the first one very often contains a verb of motion and that either one or both clauses may have no formal subject. The following paragraphs illustrate the most common uses of parataxis with clauses.

(a) Qualification:

gam guram$_1$ dɛá$_2$ mɔ$_3$ nɛ́ saʔde$_4$ zɛ́ɛ$_5$ gan rɛ́m ná$_6$ '(the) whirlwind$_1$ did$_2$ things$_3$ to (the) animals$_4$ yesterday$_5$ in a terrible way$_6$' (= 'not able')

ą há ri hó wa dɔ́ŋ ná 'he didn't give them much water' (= 'he gives water to them much not')

bó$_1$ wá$_2$ yɔ$_3$ ŋgaragé rɛ́m$_4$ 'after$_1$ they've$_2$ danced$_3$ the ŋgaragé (dance) sufficiently$_4$' ('danced is equal')

ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán nzapà ná 'there's nothing stronger than God' (= 'same thing negative is strong surpasses God not')

(b) Succession of events:

go$_1$ nɛ́$_2$ go nɛ́$_3$ rį́k$_4$ gą́sá$_5$ kɛrɛi$_6$ 'and$_1$ (he) went$_2$, and (he) went$_3$ (and) hit$_4$ the big$_5$ beer-pot$_6$'

bó$_1$ nɛ$_2$ yoo$_3$ mɛ$_4$ 'when$_1$ (he) went$_2$ (and) stood$_3$ there$_4$'

wen$_1$-́ba$_2$ mɔ$_3$ yǫ́ŋ$_4$ 'to$_1$ take$_2$ (the) thing$_3$ (and) eat$_4$ (it)'

kéey$_1$ tɛà$_2$ dɛ́m$_3$ 'fear$_1$ came$_2$ (and) overcame me$_3$'

kó-fey yú$_1$ kę́ ę́ zų́$_2$ 'Kó-fey ran$_1$ (and) departed$_2$'

mise tɛ́$_1$ ákám$_2$ 'Monsieur came$_1$ (and) asked me$_2$'

tɛ$_1$ ri$_2$ fók$_3$ láŋgí$_4$ ná$_5$ 'so that$_1$ (the) water$_2$ would$_1$ not$_5$ flow$_3$ (and) pass out of sight$_4$'

bá$_1$ gɛzɛ$_2$-́sunu$_3$ ką́ ą$_4$ ę́$_5$ nu$_6$ 'took$_1$ a basket$_2$ of his$_4$ sesame$_3$ (seed and) placed$_5$ (it on the) ground$_6$'

rį́k$_1$ ę́$_2$ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ$_3$ dų́ŋ nɛ́$_4$ '(she said, "they) hit$_1$ me$_2$ all the time$_3$ (and) keep on with it$_4$"'

wan to ʔbíí$_1$ mbéa$_2$ pį́$_3$ nu$_4$ ʔbɔ$_5$ 'Wan-to broke off$_1$ another$_2$ (piece and) threw$_3$ (it on the) ground$_4$ also$_5$'

dų́ŋ$_1$ wa dɛ́ saa$_2$ wa$_3$ yáá$_4$ '(they) keep on$_1$ playing$_2$ (and) they$_3$ run around$_4$'

Notes to Chapter Four

[1] In the case of personal names it is possible that some of these constructions do not illustrate subordinate attributive constructions but, in an aphoristic manner, represent more complete utterances. However, I have only one example to justify this hypothesis: gaza ŋgay 'circumcision strength.' Its meaning was explained with the phrase nɛ́ gaza nɛ́ ŋgay 'go circumcision with difficulty (that is, have a very severe initiation).' Compare kɔfɛ wen 'in-law speech,' wen ŋmaá 'speech each-other,' gɛnɛ ŋgafu 'guest priest.' Other constructions should be compared with the phrase nouns, for which see 381.22.

[2] The occurrence of the interrogative substitute ge before a noun is taken to be a repetition of the morpheme in its usual position, that is, following the noun: nɛ́m zɔŋ mɛ́ ge ze-́ge ndé. 'When (= what month what) shall I see you?' ge wí-ge á tɛá ge ndé. 'Who (= what person what) came?' In only one instance does ge precede a noun which is not followed by ge, that is, ge zée (< ge ze-́ge), an impolite retort which questions the truthfulness of what has been said.

[3] The words sɛn and tɛ, whose meanings are very often 'at' or 'to,' are not considered prepositions, even though they never occur in isolation or with the freedom of other substantives, because they function as heads of endocentric constructions and take the relational morpheme which prepositions never do.

[4] This use is to be distinguished from that as predicate complement and from the use of numerative substitutes as attributes in noun phrases. Yet there are some ambiguous cases. After the verb 'to die' the numeral is probably a predicate complement:

ó duwa$_1$ ką́ ą́$_2$ rííto$_3$ feá$_4$ (or, ó duwa ką́ ą feà rííto) 'his$_2$ two$_3$ goats$_1$ died$_4$'

ó duwa ką́ ą feà nɛ́ tiyé rííto 'both of his goats died'

In phrases containing a direct object and a numeral separated by other elements, the numeral may be analyzed as being either an attribute to the direct-object substantive (that is, in immediate constituency with it) or coordinate with it:

kɔʔbɔ ɔ́ nɛ bé-toró nɛ naa ką́ ą koá ą kpém 'a kɔʔbɔ is a pup which was the only one born by its mother' (= 'and its mother bore it one')

ą́$_1$ koà$_2$ bémi$_3$ baŋa naŋa kpém$_4$ 'she$_1$ (human mother) bore$_2$ just that one$_4$ child$_3$'

gbɛà kɔ́m ŋma ndará nɛ́ ŋgombe zɛ́ɛ kpém 'as for me, I killed one buffalo yesterday with a gun' (= 'killed a buffalo with a gun yesterday one')

It is this latter use of the number 'one' which has probably led to its use in negative sentences as a verb modifier with the meaning of 'at all.' For example:

gan nɛ́m pį$_1$ ŋma saʔdeí$_2$ nu$_3$ kpém$_4$ ná 'I'm not going$_1$ to throw any of the meat$_2$ down$_3$ at all$_4$'

J. Edward Gates suggests the interesting parallel in English where various words for small quantities are used in certain negative interrogative and conditional constructions without being used in the parallel affirmative constructions: 'not lift a finger,' 'not blink an eyelash,' 'not give a hoot,' 'not crack a smile,' 'not drink a drop,' etc.

[5] The reason for considering gáa a substantive and not an adverb is that it occurs with the adjective nɔ́ɔ 'this' and the adverbs never do.

[6] This construction, although resembling simple repetition (for which see 432.11) appears to be different, because low-tone (that is, non-predicative) verbs also occur in the speech of some people, and perhaps exclusively in some areas, such as at Bowe. For example, pį́ pįí 'throw (it).'

[7] Here and in the following three sections the vertical bar (|) is used to separate the subject from the predicate for ease in identifying it.

[8] More complicated patterns might be found after an analysis of units larger than the sentence (that is, a limited discourse), but except for the following illustration, the subject of discourse analysis is considered beyond the scope of this grammatical outline:

nɛ$_1$ wan to dų́ŋ$_2$ nɛ́ sara-́te$_3$ mɛ$_4$, nɛ zɔká$_5$ fara-́rií$_6$ ną ą nɛá wenáa$_7$ gó nɛá ą nɔ́i sɔ́n$_8$. nɛ bó dųŋ ą péé ʔdoŋ$_9$, nɛ wan to zįí kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́$_{10}$, go gɔ́ʔbí nɛ ką́-tɛ$_{11}$, go sí ʔdoŋ tɛ-́oro-́ą mɛ$_{12}$ mɔ́ nɛ ʔburi$_{13}$ kpána-́ri$_{14}$ á zǫ́$_{15}$. 'And$_1$ Wan-to was sitting$_2$ there$_4$ in the fork of the tree$_3$, and (he) saw$_5$ the place of the water$_6$ for which

> he (Gbagbasǫ) went$_7$ and went and drank up$_8$. And when he was returning$_9$, Wan-to got down$_{10}$ and circled around$_{11}$ and returned to the place$_{12}$ (of the water) in order to go (and) break$_{13}$ the pot of water$_{14}$ (and) spill (it)$_{15}$.'

These two sentences are symbolized in the following way, with the material in parentheses being what is included in the verb phrase: SV, CV(CSV CVSV). CV(SV), CSV, CV, CV(CVVV).

[9] Complete repetition of the N occurs in only one sentence:

> saʔde$_1$-́bɔɔ ką́ ą, ó bé nám wéey$_2$ a gɔ́m$_3$ saʔde-́bɔɔ kó dila$_4$ 'as for his meat$_1$, the (lion) cubs$_2$ took$_3$ the lion's meat$_4$'

[10] Consideration was given to describing some constructions consisting of V plus VP as coordinate multiple heads of verb phrases. For constructions such as bá tɛ́ nɛ́ 'bring it' (= 'seize come with it') this might have been possible, for the subject, implicit or explicit, is the same. There are, however, many instances of paratactically combined clauses where the subjects are not the same. Thus: ą rɛ́m tǫ wen są́k 'he can talk correctly' (= 'he is-able speak word is-clean,' where są́k 'to be clean' is a predication which is parallel to rɛ́m 'to be able' but has its own but not formal subject); ɛ́rɛ́ ɔá ʔdɔɔ-zǫ́ kɔ́ɔ́ yɛ̨́ɛ́ 'we stayed in the bush for a long time' (where the subject of ɔá 'were' is ɛ́rɛ́ 'we,' and the subject of yɛ̨́ɛ́ 'is long' is kɔ́ɔ́ 'back'). There is therefore no structural justification for describing anything as "compound verbs."

CHAPTER FIVE

SAMPLE TEXT AND ANALYSIS

This brief text was given by the informant in answer to questions about marriage among the Gbɛya people. It immediately followed my question as to whether a young man could sleep with the girl for whom he was working, and was recorded electronically on tape. It is typical of an unemotional narrative; a narrative with a great deal of action would be freely punctuated by adverbs of which only two occur here (such as [10] and [16].

GBEYA TEXT

[1] tɛ-́wesé-kɔfɛ ną ą dɛ́i, nɛ gan ą rɛ́m ɔ ín kóoi ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ́ai ná. [2] nɛ bą́ ą́ ɔ ín kóoi sɛn-tɛ-́tuwa kó foo ką́ ą mɛ, go kóoi bó ba zaŋ ˀmɔ́n tuwa kó foo ką́ ąi, nɛ ó foo ką́ ą gende gá ye ge, óó, ą́ dɛà ró nɛ́ bɔɔ. [3] ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ wen kó kó ką́ ą, tɛ ɔá, nɛ bą́ ą́ dɛ kɔfɛ sɔ́n, ndo ro sí nɛ kó ką́ ą hą́ ą, sɛ́ tą ą ɔ́ ínaa. [4] ną ą ɔ́ ín kó ką́ ą ˀmɔ́n tuwa kó ró, go bá zaŋ tɛ-́bɔnɔ-rói há tɛ-rò yų́m wéndé. [5] go ó nam kó yám kó kóoi bó zee gɔ̨́y, ndɛ wa kúú, go wa nɛ́, go nɛ́ wa kpé nú-valé-duwa kó yám kó bisai. [6] go wa káy duwa kó yám kó bisai há kɔ̨-́valé túu sɔ́n, go wa sí nɛ́. [7] ndɛ́ wá e kélé-kay wa ná, nɛ ndɛ́ wá zɔk ą́ naa-́duwai, go wa gɔ́n gɛ́raa ˀmɔ́n kɔ̨-́valéi. [8] go wa bá ą, go wa sí nɛ́, wen kó mɔ nɛ nɛá ą ɔ́ ín kóo ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ́a sɛn-́tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ, ˀmɔ́n tuwa kó foo ką́ ą gó baá zaŋí. [9] ɔ́ nɛ́ mɔ nɛ tɛ-́foo ką́ ą nɛ́ yųm wenáa. [10] go wa dɛ́ gɔ̨́y sɛn-tɛ-́saŋa-́tɛ-ó tų́ wí-ré. [11] go ó ŋmaa nɛ gan zéé tɛ-rò ná, a bó nɛ kɔfɛ nɛ ɔ́ ín kóo sɛn-́tɛ-ré kó foo kó ró mɛi. [12] nɛ ó įí nɛ ɔ́ nɛ bé-zee mbɔra go zéé mbɔra kó yám kó ró gan ɔ́ ín kóoi ˀmɔ́n tuwa kó foo kó wa mɛ ná. [13] nɛ bó wá dɛ kɔfɛ só kó wá é rá, go wa ɔ́ ín ŋma géré kóo, nɛ yám kó wa ndóy ŋginza há bɔnɔ-kó kó waí, ndɛ wa haá ŋginza wenáa, go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛ́ai, go nɛ́ pɛ́ nɛ yíí wení. [14] nɛ gan wa é ŋginzai go ˀmɔ́n bɔnɔ-kóoi há wa ná. [15] go ó tų́ wí-ré, gbaa gan wa įŋ nú-wen kó nzapà ná, nɛ gan wa kɔ̨́ ˀdoŋáa há wééy kɔfɛ kó wa ɔ́ ín bém kó wa tɛ-kɔ̨-́tuwa kó wa tɛ-́bɔlɔ-́wai ná. [16] go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛ́a gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y. [17] go bó wá ba wa sí nɛ́ tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ, sɛ́ tɛ wa ɔ́ ín kóoi.

FREE TRANSLATION

[1] While he is doing the bride-work, he can not sleep with the girl for whom he is doing the bride-work. [2] But should he sleep with the girl in

the house of his (future) in-laws there, and should the girl become pregnant right in the house of his in-laws, his in-laws say, "Oh, he made fools of us. [3] He was doing the bride-work for his wife so that when he had finished the bride-work, we would have taken his wife to him and then he would have slept with her. [4] But has he slept with his wife right in our house so that she has become pregnant in our absence, so that our feelings are hurt?" [5] So when the relatives of the girl's father hear this, they arise, and they go, and they go and lock the door of the goat-pen of the boy's father. [6] Then they take all the boy's father's goats from the pen, and they take them back (to the boy's father). [7] If they don't choose to take them, and should they see the old mother goat, they cut her throat right in the pen. [8] So they take her (the girl), and they return (home) with (her), because he went and slept with the girl for whom he was doing bride-work at their village there right in the village of his in-laws so that she became pregnant. [9] This is something that the in-laws would get upset about. [10] So they do thusly among Africans. [11] And some (boys) who don't listen to instructions, while doing bride-work they sleep with the girl at the village of their in-laws there. [12] But those who are obedient children and listen to the commandments of their fathers don't sleep with the girl right in the house of their in-laws there. [13] And if they (the boys) should do bride-work and then give it up and sleep with some other girl, their fathers would collect from the girl for whom they had given money and for whom they had done bride-work, and they would go and pay for it (the fornication). [14] And they don't leave the money for the (first) girl for themselves. [15] Even those Africans who don't know the Gospel don't want their son-in-law to sleep with their daughter in their house in their absence. [16] So they do the bride-work for a long time. [17] Then when they (the boys) take them (the girls) to their village, then they sleep with the girls.

ANALYSIS

[1] tɛ∸wesé-kɔfɛ ną ą dɛ́i ('body of day of in-law and he does pc.'), nɛ gan ą rɛ́m ɔ fn kóoi ('and neg. he can sleep with woman pc.'), ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ́ai ná ('and he does in-law pc. not').

tɛ, preposition-like noun, 340, fn. 16.

tɛ∸wesé-kɔfɛ, NP of time in complex sentence, 414.15; NP with relational morpheme {∸} morphophonemically written, 212.2.

kɔfɛ ną, NP < N + dep. clause attribute, 332.32; 411.26.

ną ą = < nɛ ą, 132.2.

kɔfɛ, obj. of dɛ́, 411.26; dɛ kɔfɛ 'to do bride-work,' that is, render services to the girl's parents or her paternal uncles in partial payment of the bride-price; nɛ kɔfɛ 'to go in-law' refers in general to all transactions for acquiring a wife, see [11].

dɛ́i < dɛ́ high tone imperf. verb 'do' + -i pc. which ties the phrase together, 220, 393.12.

kóo 'woman, wife'; in anticipation of the marriage union a "fiancée" is called kóo 'wife.'

ɔ 'sleep,' low tone imperf. V in dep. clause attribute to V, 393.112.
gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.
kɔfɛ́a < kɔfɛ + det. suf. {-a}, 213.1.
ą 'he,' notice the change from sg. subj. (sentences [1-10]) to pl. (sentences [11-17]).

[2] nɛ bą́ ą́ ɔ ín kóoi sɛn-tɛ-́tuwa kó foo ką́ á mɛ ('and when he sleeps with woman pc. at body of house of in-law of him there'), go kóoi bó ba zaŋ ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó foo ką́ ąi ('then woman pc. when seizes foetus remains house of in-law of him pc.'), nɛ ó foo ką́ ą gende gá ye ge ('and pl. adj. in-law of him say'), óó, ą́ dɛà ró nɛ́ bɔɔ ('Oh, he did us with foolishness').

bą́, AV freely translated 'when,' 394.31; bą́ < bó, 132.2.
ą́ 'he,' high tone in clause following AV, 382.112.
ɔ 'sleep,' low tone imperf. following AV, 393.112; ɔ in this context has sexual connotations.
go, conn., 332.2.
ba zaŋ ʔmɔ́n, paratactically joined compound clause, 423.12; ba zaŋ 'to become pregnant.'
tuwa '(in the) house,' noun in VP used locatively, 414.143.
ó foo 'in-laws,' adj. + N, 361.1; foo here probably refers to the parents of the girl, and ó foo to both the parents and the father's clan, but in [9] the omission of ó does not limit the reference to the parents, for implicit plurality is not always marked; ką́ < kó, 132.2.
gende gá ye ge, QV with NP subj., 353.
dɛá < dɛ 'to do' + perf. suf. + {á}, 211.2; but notice preference for historical present, not only in this text but generally in narratives; on lowering of tone of dɛà, 131.2.
ró, pl. explicit pron. in quotations, 382.12.
nɛ́, prep., 345.

[3] ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ wen kó kó ką́ ą ('he does in-law word of woman of him'), tɛ ɔá ('so that was'), nɛ bą́ ą́ dɛ kɔfɛ sɔ́n ('and when he does in-law all'), ndo ro sí nɛ kó ką́ ą hą́ ą ('and we return with woman of him to him'), sɛ́ tą ą ɔ́ ínaa ('so that he sleeps with her').

wen kó, purposive, 414.17.
kó, allomorph of kóo 'woman,' 132.3c.
tɛ ɔá, connecting VP with little lexical meaning, equivalent here to tɛ bó, 332.8.
sɔ́n 'all,' probably adverbial.
ndo < nɛ 'and,' 131.1, 132.2.
hą́ < há, 132.2.
tą < tɛ, 132.2; sɛ́ tɛ, conn., 332.6.
ínaa 'with her,' < ín 'with' + 3S suf., 382.113.

[4] ną ą ɔ́ ín kó ką ą ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó ró ('and he sleeps with woman of him remains house of us'), go bá zaŋ tɛ-́bɔnɔ-rói ('then seizes foetus body of back of us pc.'), há tɛ-rɔ̀ yų́m wéndé ('so that body our hurts question').

ɔ́ . . . ʔmɔ́n, compound clause as in [2].
há, conn., 332.3.
tɛ-rɔ̀ 'our bodies,' noun in inalienable possession, 212.2, 344; parts of

body are frequently used in expressions describing psychological states; tone of rɔ̀, 131.2.

wéndé, question particle, 328.

[5] go ó nam kó kóoi bó zee gɔ̨́y ('then pl. adj. family of woman pc. when hear thus'), ndɛ wa kúú ('and they arise'), go wa nɛ́ ('then they go'), go nɛ́ wa kpé nú-valé-duwa kó yám kó bisai ('then go they lock mouth of hut of goat of father of adolescent boy pc.').

zee, allomorph of zer- 'to hear,' 132.1a

gɔ̨́y, adv., 372.11.

ndɛ < nɛ 'and,' 131.1.

kúú, allomorph of kur- 'to arise,' 132.1a.

nɛ́ wa kpé 'they go and lock,' compound clause with verb of motion, 423.11.

[6] go wa káy duwa kó yám kó bisai ('then they take goat of father of adolescent boy pc.'), há kɔ̨-́valé túu sɔ́n ('from hole of hut all all'), go wa sí nɛ́ ('they they return with').

kɔ̨ 'hole,' prep.-like noun, 340, fn. 16; 414.141.

duwa = ó duwa 'goats.'

kay, pl. verb paired with ba, 394.1.

túu 'all,' < Fr. 'tout'; Fr. loans are often paired with synonymous Gbɛya words.

nɛ́, prep. without obj., 345.

[7] ndɛ́ wá e kélé-kay wa ná ('going they place heart take them not'), nɛ ndɛ́ wá zɔk ą́ naa-́duwai ('and going they see old mother goat pc.'), go wa gɔ́n gɛ́raa ('then they cut its neck)' ʔmɔ́n kɔ̨-́valéi ('remains hole of hut pc.').

ndɛ́ < nɛ, AV, 394.32, 131.1.

e, sg. V paired with a, 394.1.

kélé-kay, NP with VP attribute, 411.25.

ná, on omission of gan, 371.2.

ą́ naa-́duwa 'old mother goat,' the one which bore most of the flock, therefore the prize one.

gɛ́raa 'its throat,' bound allomorph (gɛ́r ~ gɛ́ɛ́) with 3S pron. suf., 132.1a, 382.113.

[8] go wa bá ą ('then they take her'), go wa sí nɛ́ ('then they return with'), wen kó mɔ nɛ nɛá ą ɔ́ ín kóo ('word of thing and went he sleeps with woman'). ną ą dɛ́ kɔfɛ́a sɛn-́tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ ('and he does the in-law at body of village of them there'), ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó foo ką́ ą ('remains house of in-laws of him') gó baá zaŋí ('then he seizes foetus pc.').

wen kó mɔ 'because,' 414.17.

nɛá ą ɔ́ 'he went and slept,' compound clause with verb of motion, 423.1.

kóo ną ą dɛ́, NP with dep. clause attribute, 411.26.

gó, allomorph of {go}, 332.21.

[9] ɔ́ nɛ́ mɔ ('is cop. thing') nɛ tɛ-́foo ką́ ą nɛ́ yųm wenáa ('and body of in-law of him going hurt the word').

nɛ́, copula, 352.

mɔ nɛ, NP with dep. clause attribute.

ɔ́, subject is impersonal, 421.122.

nɛ́ 'will,' AV, 394.32.

wenáa < wen 'word' + det. suf., purposive, 414.17.

[10] go wa dɛ́ gɔ̨́y sɛn-tɛ-́saŋa-́tɛ-ó tų́ wí-ré ('so they do thus at body of midst of body of pl. adj. black person of village').

wa 'they,' impersonal, identified with ó tų́ wí-ré, 382.1.

tų́ 'black,' V as adj., 361.222b.

wí 'person,' practically always in NP with {-́}.

[11] go ó ŋmaa nɛ gan zéé tɛ-rò ná ('so pl. adj. some and neg. hear body their not'), a bó nɛ kɔfɛ ('and when go in-law') nɛ ɔ́ ín kóo sɛn-́tɛ-ré kó foo kó ró mɛi ('and sleep with woman at body of village of in-law of them pc.').

ŋmaa nɛ, NP with dep. clause attribute, expanded subject of bó, 422.1.

ró, pl. explicit pron. for clarity, 382.122.

a, conn., 332.1.

[12] nɛ ó ʝí nɛ ɔ́ nɛ bé-zee mbɔra ('and pl. adj. those and are cop. child listen law') go zéé mbɔra kó yám kó ró ('and listen law of father of them'), gan ɔ́ ín kóoi ('neg. sleep with woman pc.') ʔmɔ́n tuwa kó foo kó wa mɛ ná ('remain house of in-law of them there not').

ó ʝí nɛ, pron. phrase with compound dependent clause, 412, subj. of nɛ́, separated by pause because of length of NP, 422.1.

bé 'child,' allomorph of béem, used in NP, 132.2c.

[13] nɛ bó wá dɛ kɔfɛ ('and when they do in-law') só kó wá é rá ('then they leave off'), go wa ɔ́ ín ŋma géré kóo ('then they sleep with some strange woman'), nɛ yám kó wa ndóy ŋginza ('and father of them collects money') há bɔnɔ-kó kó waí ('from back of woman of them pc.'), ndɛ wa haá ŋginza wenáa ('and they gave money the word'), go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛ́ai ('then they do the in-law pc.), go nɛ́ pɛ́ nɛ yíí wení ('then go pay for word pc.').

bó, AV with compound dep. clause.

rá, meaning uncertain.

ŋma, reconstructed from recorded ŋmaá 'each other,' which did not make sense.

géré, adv. as N attribute, 411.12, < gére 132.3b.

ŋginza 'money,' < Sango, Gbɛya word is mbɔy; notice absence of both pc. and det. suf. even though the reference is very specific (but compare [14]).

nɛ́ pɛ́, compound clause with V of motion, 423.11.

pɛ́ nɛ yíí < Fr. 'payé' with pɛ́ analyzed as the V, yíí as the N; the prep. nɛ (< nɛ́) is normal in such a V + N construction, 345. This is quite unusual, and a perfective form *pɛá was never recorded.

wení = wenáa 'for it.'

[14] nɛ gan wa é ŋginzai ('and neg. they leave money pc.') go ʔmɔ́n bɔnɔ-kóoi há wa ná ('then remains back of woman pc. for them not').

é . . . ʔmɔ́n, compound clause closed by neg. adv.

ʔmɔ́n, subj. is not wa but ŋginza 'money.'

há wa 'for themselves'; one expects explicit pron. ró here unless first wa refers to parents and second wa to the boys; this ambiguity of reference is typical of Gbɛya narratives.

[15] go ó tų́ wí-ré ('so pl. adj. black person of village'), gbaa gan wa įŋ nú-wen kó nzapà ná ('even if neg. they know mouth of word of God not'), nɛ gan wa kǫ́ ʔdoŋáa ('and neg. they agree the back') há wééy kɔfɛ kó wa ɔ́ ín bém kó wa ('that man in-law of them sleep with child of them') tɛ-kǫ-́tuwa kó wa tɛ-́bɔlɔ-́wai ná ('body of hole of house of them body of back of them pc. not').

ó tų́ wí-ré, expanded subj., 422.1.
gan . . . ná, neg. adv., 371.1.
įŋ, imperf. low tone in neg. clause, 393.115.
nzapá 'God' < Sango.
kǫ ʔdoŋáa há + VP 'to want . . . '
wééy as attribute of N, < wéey 'man,' 132.2b.
bɔlɔ and bɔnɔ in this text, free morpheme alternants, 133.1.

[16] go wa dɛ́ kɔfɛ́a gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y ('so they do the in-law on and on').

gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y 'thus thus,' repetition, 431.

[17] go bó wá ba wa sí nɛ́ tɛ-ré kó wa mɛ ('then when they take them return with body of village of them there'), sɛ́ tɛ wa ɔ́ ín kóoi ('then they sleep with woman pc.').

ba . . . sí, compound clause, 423.12, dep. clause attribute of AV bó.
ba, one expects kay with plural object; see [6].
kóo, identified as plural by wa following ba even though pl. adj. ó omitted.

SELECTED TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The following is a selection of twelve texts from my total collection. The omitted ones are either much less interesting in subject matter or are poor specimens of Gbɛya because of their fractured syntax. All were first tape-recorded and then transcribed by myself, without the aid of an informant. Checking the recordings with an informant would certainly have been of much help in clearing up some obscure utterances, but the absence of sufficient electrical power in the field prevented any such work. The transcriptions themselves, however, were gone over with my regular informant. The translations are my entire responsibility since none of my friends spoke English.

All of the narrators were well known to me. In fact, all but Nganasɛ́rɛ and Bɔysɛ́ served as informants in one way or another during the time that I lived at "Bellevue." Sɛndɛ́ámɔ (sɛn dɛ́á mɔ), who gave me texts 1, 2, 3, and 12, was one of my workmen. Although he was born near Bellevue and spent most of his life around there, his idiolect shows evidence of having been influenced by the dialect of Boguila (for example, ŋa for ŋma 'some,' ɔ for ɛrɛ 'we'). My regular informant gave me texts 6, 7, and 11. Namkɔ̨́ná (nam kɔ̨́ ná), a Protestant catechist in his 30's gave texts 8 and 9. Another catechist, Kpadémɔná (kpa dé mɔ ná) gave number 10. Bɔysɛ́ (bɔy sɛ́), who acts the father in text 1, and Nganasɛ́rɛ (ŋgana-sɛ́rɛ) were the oldest of all the speakers, probably in their late 40's. The child who played the part of the son in text 1, Gɛ̨́nam (gɛ̨́-nam), is the nephew of Sɛndɛ́ámɔ; he was in his early teens.

The texts were obtained in the following ways: For the conversations, I suggested several topics the two individuals might discuss. They made the final selection and proceded extemporaneously until they felt that they had nothing more to say. The fables, texts 11 and 12, were obtained by my simply asking the individuals to tell any fable they wanted. The other discourses, texts 6 through 10, came after I had suggested the topics. Once the speaker began, he was not interrupted until he chose to cease. There were also no second attempts to improve the recordings. Text 6, however, is part of a series of answers to questions put to my informant about marriage. In this instance, my question was probably "Why do some wives leave their husbands and go home?"

The transcription is broken up by commas and periods to indicate the major pause points and sentence breaks. Intonational features, syntax, and meaning were used in determining the boundaries of sentences, but it must be confessed that with such extemporaneous material, it is very difficult to be sure of one's sentences. Paragraphing is introduced for convenience. The plus sign (+) is used to mark morphemic breaks within words so as to assist the reader in making a morphological analysis. It must be remembered that the hyphen is used to indicate the presence of the relational morpheme {-́}, which is realized in a tone change in the word preceding the hyphen only if it is basically low and the word following it has low tone. For details, see 212.2. The grave accent continues to mark a lowered tone from the presence of a following high. When the tones very clearly deviate from the general pattern described in the grammar, they are not normalized. For example, one might find go gan am instead of the expected gó gan am. The narrowing of intervals in rapid extemporaneous speech probably accounts for some of the differences, but without dictated forms of the same utterances one can not be sure. Contrary to the convention which was adopted in the grammar proper, in these texts proper nouns and personal names are capitalized. The change is justified by the different functions of the illustrative material. Finally, the asterisk marks French words in their assimilated form only on their first appearance in a text.

The translation in English is neither literal nor a paraphrase, but a mixture of the two. The first few translations have parenthetical material which an understandable paraphrase would require, but this device was subsequently given up because of the many inconsistencies it introduced. One of the most difficult aspects of the translation was the translation of "tense." A faithful translation of the Gbɛya perfective and imperfective forms of the verbs results in a very odd English translation, as is seen in text 3, where this attempt was made. The problem is that, in Gbɛya narratives, the imperfective (like the "historic present") is more common than the perfective when the time of action is known. For the most part, therefore, the translation follows the understood time of the action: in these narratives the imperfective is very often translated with a simple past; the perfective, where appropriate, is translated with a present or past perfect. It was also extremely difficult to translate the ideophonic adverbs, a problem met by all those working on African languages. Part of the problem is in determining the precise meaning of these adverbs; I am not always certain that I have succeeded. Another difficulty is in trying to convey the sense in a few English words. As text 10 illustrates, I have had to resort to different kinds of solutions, sometimes even retaining the Gbɛya word.

1. A Hunt Across the River

1. ɛ́rɛ́ nɛ+á yarí sɛn-́tɛ-kúú-Wáam mɛ ín ó *misɛ. 2. ɛrɛ yáá. 3. nɛ+á gɛ rɛ ɔ́ zɔ̨́. 4. fara ʔbáá, nɛ gan rɛ kpá ŋa (that is, ŋma) saʔde kpém wen kó gbɛ́+á ná. 5. ɛrɛ kpá ó ndará nɛ dų́ŋ wa yú. 6. dų́ŋ wa yú. 7. a dų́ŋ wa yú gɔ̨́y. 8. nɛ gan rɛ kpá ŋa wen-́gbɛ kpém ná. 9. ɛrɛ gbó sɛn-́tɛ-ką́-gą́sá kara, sɛn-́tɛ-ką́-Yáa Bą́ mɛ. 10. go bɛ́ rɛ́ gam tɛ-rɛ́ wen kó pér+á+a, só kɛ́ rɛ́ kpá ŋa mbɛɛ nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá, sɛn-́tɛ-kúú-Wáam dį́yɛ nɔ́ɔ dɔ̨́ɔ́. 11. gɛ rɛ gbɛ́ ą rííto só kɛ́ rɛ́ káy gɛ rɛ péé nɛ́. 12. sóó mɔ gɔ̨́y a há dɛ́+á saa hɛ́ rɛ́. 13. nɛ, ɛ́rɛ́ si+ò gére, nɛ gan rɛ kpa ŋaa (that is, ŋmaa) wen-́gbɛ kpém ná, óʔ gan nɛ+á ha dɛ́+á saa hɛ́ rɛ́ kpém ná. 14. wen kó mɔ nɛ+á rɛ ɔ́ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̨́, gó ŋgay kɛ́ rɛ́ sɔn+à sɔ́n. 15. gó mɔ gɔ̨́y, ɛrɛ kpá ŋmaa įį rííto, só kó sɛra-rɛ́ dɛ́ saa wenáa dɔ́ka.

2. Monsieur Kills Two Antelope

1. kúú dį́yɛ nɔ́ɔ go bɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́+á+a, nɛ Kpadémɔná tɛ́ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ sɛn-́tɛ-nú-*bak mɛ gó, tɛ+á go áy oro-rɛ́ nɛ gan kpá rɛ́ ná. 2. nɛ Kpadémɔná yú nɛ́ bɔlɔ-rɛ́ gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y. 3. nɛ+á go kpá rɛ́ sɛn-́tɛ-nú-Wáam mɛ. 4. só ką́ ą́ sá mɔ bɔlɔ-rɛ́ gɔ+ɔ (that is, gɛ rɛ) ŋgɛ́mb+aa. 5. ɛrɛ tɛ́ nɛ́ tįi hą́ ą gɛ rɛ bá ą nɛ́ tįi só kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y go bɛ́ rɛ́ gbo sɛn-tɛ-́ŋma bé-ri, gɛ rɛ ɔ́m tɛ-rɛ́ sɛnɛ́. 6. nɛ́ *mįtíi. 7. gɛ rɛ kúú gɛ rɛ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y. 8. go bɛ́ rɛ́ gbo sɛn-tɛ-́fara-́ɔ+i mɛ ga mbóro dɛ+á, sóó rɛ́ ɔ́ dįi. 9. go zu-́ture, ndɛ rɛ kúú wen kó nɛ yaa rɛ kii saʔde rɛ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y gan rɛ kpá saʔde kpém ná. 10. gɛ rɛ yáá rɛ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y gbó sɛn-́tɛ-ką́-Yáa Bą́. 11. ɛrɛ kų́ Yáa Bą́ ɛrɛ nɛ́ gbó On Yora (that is, ɔn yɔra). 12. ɛrɛ gbó sɛn-́tɛ-gą́sá kara. 13. gɛ rɛ gám tɛ-rɛ́ bɛ́ rɛ́ kpa bɔlɔ-náŋ-ó saʔde dų́ŋ rɛ ʔmá wa ndɛ wa láŋgí ndɛ wa láŋgí ndɛ wa láŋgí nɛ gan rɛ kpá wa kpém ná. 14. gɛ rɛ gám tɛ-rɛ́ rɛ péé ʔdoŋ gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y. 15. tɛ́ go bɛ́ rɛ́ gbo sɛn-́tɛ-kúú-Wáam sɛn-́tɛ-dį́yɛ tɛ-nú-ré kɛ́ rɛ́ na dɔ̨́ɔ́ só kɛ́ rɛ́ kpá ŋa mbɛɛ gɛ rɛ gbɛ́ wa

1. A Hunt Across the River

1. We went hunting across the Wáam (river) over there with Monsieur. 2. We hiked around. 3. We went and we slept in the bush. 4. It became day, and we didn't find one single animal to kill. 5. We found buffalo and they kept on running away. 6. They kept on running away. 7. They kept on running away a long time. 8. And we didn't find one to kill. 9. We arrived beside the large mountain, beside the Yáa Bạ́ over there. 10. So when we turned around to return, we found some reedbuck on the way, on the other side of the Wáam here closeby. 11. So we killed him two (two of them) and we picked them up and we returned with (them). 12. So in this way it gave pleasure to us. 13. And if we had returned without anything, and had not found a single one to kill, oh it would not have given us any pleasure whatsoever. 14. Because we had gone and had slept in the bush, and our strength was entirely depleted. 15. So that's how it is, we found those two, and our livers are very happy about it.

2. Monsieur Kills Two Antelope

1. (We) arise (from) right here and after we had gone, Kpadémɔná for his part comes (from) the ferry crossing over there and, (he) came and seeks us and can not find us. 2. And Kpadémɔná runs after us for a long time. 3. (He) went and finds us at the edge of the Wáam (river) over there. 4. So he calls after us and we wait for him. 5. We bring a canoe to him and we take him with the canoe so we go on like this and when we arrive at a certain small stream, we rest ourselves there. 6. At noon (this is). 7. Then we arise and we go like this. 8. And when we arrive at the sleeping place there, in other words it has already become evening, so we sleep there. 9. Then very early in the morning, we arise to go hiking (for) us (to) hunt game (and) we go on (and) arrive beside the Yáa Bạ́. 11. We cross the Yáa Bạ́ (and) we arrive at the On Yora. 12. We arrive at the large mountain. 13. And we turn around (and) when we find tracks of animals we continue to track them and they go on and they go on and they go on and we don't find a single one (that is, animal). 14. Then we turn around (and) we return a long time. 15. (We) come and when we arrive at the other side of the Wáam here at the approach to our

ríſto. 16. *misi ndɔ́ɔ́ wa gbɛ́ ríſto. 17. só kɛ́ rɛ́ káy gɛ rɛ péé nɛ́. 18. gɛ rɛ kúú gɛ rɛ péé go bɛ́ rɛ́ kų Wáam sɛn-́tɛ-dį́yɛ, bɛ́ rɛ́ si go bɛ́ rɛ́ gbo na go misi há ŋma hɛ́ rɛ́ gɛ rɛ kpá wen kó si rɛ yɔ̨ŋ nɛ́ kam. 19. só kó sɛra-rɛ̀ dɛ́ saa dɔ́ka. 20. nɛ wesé nɛ ɛ́rɛ́ si+ò gére, ooʔ nɛ gan nɛ+á ha dɛ́+á saa hɛ́ rɛ́ ná.

3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. ɛrɛ kúú zu-́ture dį́yɛ nɔ́ɔ ʔnɛ́ŋ. 2. gɛ rɛ nɛ́ sɛn-́tɛ-kúú mɛ wen-́kii saʔde. 3. bɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, bɛ́ rɛ́) kų ri gɔ+ɔ (that is, gɛ rɛ) nɛ́. 4. ɛrɛ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y. 5. ɛrɛ kíí saʔde. 6. ɛrɛ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y. 7. ɛrɛ gbó sɛn-tɛ-́gba go. 8. gan rɛ kpá saʔde kpém ná. 9. ɛrɛ nɛ́ gbó ri Tiya. 10. gan rɛ kpá saʔde ná. 11. ɛrɛ kíp tɛ-rɛ́ gɛ rɛ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y, gbó sɛn-tɛ-́Nduú. 12. go bɛ́ rɛ́ kų Nduú, nɛ bó+m . . . , zaŋ+ám yų́m, go+m húfí, nɛ gan am kpá ŋgay kɔ́+m kpém ná. 13. nɛ+m nɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́-*mise gɛdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k gɔ̨́y ŋmgbóŋ.

14. go bɛ́ rɛ́ daŋ zu-́kara, nɛ tɛ-zu-́kara mɛ, nɛ Raŋmgbá tɔ̨́ gende gá ye ge, ɛ́ɛ mise, ɛrɛ dáŋ zu-́kara nɔ́ɔ sɛ́, tɛ ɔ+á nɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ hɔ dį́i nɔ́ɔ+i, nɛ ndɛ́ rɛ́ kpa ŋma saʔde. 15. nɛ Raŋmgbá bó tɔ̨ gɔ̨́y, tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ daŋ zu-́kara+i, wen kó ndɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́+á+a, tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ hɔ́+á+a, nɛ ó dila wa gbį́n sɛn-́tɛ-ką́-tɛ-rɛ́+i. 16. ndɔ+ɔ (that is, ndɛ rɛ) tɔ̨́ gende gá ye į́ŋ ná. 17. ndɔ+ɔ tɔ̨́ gende gá ye į́ŋ ná nɛ ɔ́ nɛ́ ndará. 18. nɛ Raŋmgbá tɔ̨́ gende gá, į́i mise, ɔ́ nɛ́ ndará, ndará, ndará. 19. tɛ mise bó wá laŋgi ín Raŋmgbá, gende gá, gá wá hɔ+á sɛn-tɛ-́bɛra-́go dį́yɛ. 20. tɛ bó+m gam tɛ+ɛ́m, nɛ+m tɔ̨́ mbí ye, ŋmaa a yór+i. 21. tɛ bó ndɔ+ɔ hii tɛ-́ʔdɔɔ, tɛ ó mise bó laŋgi kó ró kpɛ́kɛ́rɛ́ tɛ-íyɛ gáa, tɛ bó zɔk gende gá, á hɔ+á sɛn-tɛ-́bɛra-́go dį́yɛ. 22. tɛ bó+m gam tɛ+ɛ́m wen kó nɛ́+m ba te, gende gá, á hɔ+à ʔbéé. 23. nɛ mise bó zik tɛ̨-ɛ̨́ nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ gám tɛ̨-ɛ̨́, nɛ ndɔ́r+aa ŋgombe. 24. mise bó ndɔr+aa, bó ndɔr+aa gbaŋgala, nɛ koy-yą́ ką́ ą sɔ́n dųŋ dɛ́ ŋgay rrrrr.

25. tɛ bɔ́+ɔ́ zee gɔ̨́y, óʔ kéey dɛ+à rɛ́ dɔ́ka. 26. ndɛ rɛ ŋmą́y gɛ rɛ yú kpém kpém kpém sɔ́n. 27. dɔ̨́n sɛ́rɛ kɛ́ rɛ́ á nu sɔ́n. 28. dɔ̨́n ʔboy kɛ́ rɛ́ á nu sɔ́n. 29. gan rɛ kpá ŋma mɔ kpém.

village here closeby then we find some reedbuck and we kill two of them. 16. Monsieur shoots them (and) kills two. 17. Then we take (them) and we return with them. 18. And we arise and we return and when we cross the Wáam here, when we return and when we arrive here then Monsieur gives some (meat) to us and we receive (some) for (us) to return (and) eat with (our) porridge. 19. Then our livers rejoice greatly. 20. And (on the) day (that) we had returned empty-handed, oh, (that) would not have given joy to us.

3. A Narrow Escape from Lions

1. We arise (from) right here very early in the morning. 2. And we go to the other side (of the river) there to hunt animals. 3. After we cross the river we go. 4. We go on in this manner (or perhaps, kept on going). 5. We hunt for animals. 6. We go on in this manner. 7. We arrive at the lateritic plateau. 8. We don't find a single animal. 9. We go (and) arrive at Tiya Creek. 10. We don't find any animals. 11. We turn around and we go on in this manner, (and) arrive at the Nduú (river). 12. And after we cross the Nduú, my stomach hurt, and I am having diarrhea, and I don't have any strength at all. 13. And I follow Monsieur slowly like this for a long time.

14. And after we climb atop the mountain, at the top of the mountain there, Raŋmgbá says, "Hey, Monsieur, let's climb atop this mountain first, so that after we go on over there, we'll find some animals." 15. And after Raŋmgbá has spoken in this way, and after we have climbed atop the mountain, for the purpose of going on, and after we had passed on, the lions they appeared beside us. 16. And we say "Don't know." 17. And we say, "Perhaps (they) are buffalo." 18. And Raŋmgbá says, "Yeah, Monsieur, (they)'re buffalo, buffalo, buffalo." 19. So after Monsieur had gone on ahead with Raŋmgbá, in other words they (the lions) had appeared on the plateau here. 20. And after I turned, I said, "There's one standing." 21. So after we ducked down, and after Monsieur for his part went on out of sight over there like that, and after (we) looked, in other words, (they) had appeared on the plateau clearing here. 22. So after I had turned around to go grab a tree, in other words, (they) had already appeared. 23. And after Monsieur turned his body, right then he turned around, and he shoots it (the lion) with the gun. 24. When Monsieur shoots it, when he shoots it bang! the rest of its (the lion's) companions begin to roar rrrr.

25. So when we hear this, oh fear struck us terribly. 26. And we divide up and all of us flee separately. 27. All of us cast our spears on the ground. 28. All of us cast our caps on the ground. 29. We don't get a thing (meaning uncertain).

30. nɛ mise gám tɛ̣-ɛ̣́ ʔbɔ. 31. nɛ wééy+aa dọ́ŋ tɛ́, dọ́ŋ tɛ́ nɛ́ ŋgay, dọ́ŋ tɛ́ nɛ́ ŋgay. 32. nạ ạ zɔ́k kɔ́ɔ́-Raŋmgbá nɛ bó nɛ yú+ó, nạ ạ yú wen kó óró nạ ạ yú wen kó ba ạ gá. 33. nɛ mise ʔmɔ́n nɛ gám tɛ̣-ɛ̣́ nɛ yọ́ŋ+á yín, nạ ạ ndɔ́r+aa, nạ ạ ndɔ́r+aa. 34. nɛ wééy+aa bá tɛ̣-ɛ̣́ kpọ́ŋ nɛ yú kɛ̣́ ɛ̣́.

35. bạ́ ạ́ yu gọ́y, nɛ mise gám tɛ̣-ɛ̣́, nɛ sá mɔ nɛ́ fɛ̣ra féɛ́é. 36. ndɛ rɛ ŋmạy+à gɛ́ rɛ́ hụs+ɔ́ tɛ-rɛ́ sɔ́n. 37. nɛ+m tọ́ ye, tọ́ há Maydɛ, mbí ye, ééʔ, Maydɛ, am íŋ ná, ạ bá mise. 38. mbí ye, dila ba+á ạ, dila ba+á ạ ạ+i. 39. nɛ ʔmɔn+á gɛ rɛ yá+i, yá+i, yá+i gọ́y. 40. nạ ạ dɔ́m fɛ̣ra, tɛ bó+m zee, nɛ+m tọ́, ééʔ, ạ́ ʔmɔn+á kpas+á, ạ dɔ́m fɛ̣ra, go wér+i. 41. tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ hịŋ bɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́+á+a, nạ ạ dọ́ŋ wa dɔ́m fɛ̣ra dɔ́m fɛ̣ra gọ́y. 42. nɛ dọ́ŋ ạ kíʔdí rɛ́, dọ́ŋ wa kíʔdí rɛ́, ŋmgbóŋ. 43. ndɔ+ɔ tɛ́ ndɔ+ɔ kpá ạ. 44. ndɛ rɛ mọ́y tɛ-kpém fara. 45. nạ ạ tọ́ ye ɛ́rɛ́ ná nɛ ɛ̣́ gbɛ+ằ saʔde. 46. ndɛ rɛ tọ́+y *wi, ɛrɛ zey+á nɛ ŋgombe+i wey+á+i. 47. ạ́ gbɛ+á saʔde, kpásí wen. 48. nɛ gan ɔ́ mbɛ́ rɛ́ si fɛ̣́ɛ́ ná. 49. tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ́+á, ạ́ ndɔr+á ạ pị́ gạ́ ạ́ mọy+á ạ, gạ ạ ɔ́ gáá nɔ́ɔ. 50. nɛ ɛ́rɛ́ sɔ́n, ɛrɛ zɔ́k+aa. 51. ndɛ rɛ gám tɛ-rɛ́, gɛ rɛ péé ʔdoŋ.

52. nɛ mise tọ́ gende gá ye ge, o a kọ́ ʔdoŋ-nɛ sɛn-tɛ-zaŋ-ré wen-tọ há *madáam wen-ha ŋma gbạra-wey hɛ̣́ ɛ̣́, wen-si nɛ́ ʔdoŋ wen-sa ŋma ó wí-ré á zu-ɛ̣́. 53. nɛ tọ́ há *pasitɛ́ɛr, wen kó ba ŋgombe kó ró. 54. ŋma *sasɛ́ɛr nɛ́ ɔ+á sɛnɛ́, nɛ bá ŋma ŋgombe kó wa wen-nɛ nɛ́, sɛ́ tɛ nɛ́ ɔ+á nɛ bí nɛ́ biro nɔ́ɔ ín ɛ̣́. 55. nɛ ɛ̣́ tɛ+á ɛ̣ kọ́ sɛ́rɛ.

56. nɛ mise bó tọ gọ́y nɛ+m tọ́+y, wi, gán mí am kọ́ ʔdoŋ-tɛ́+á wéndé.

57. nɛ Raŋmgbá tọ́ gende gá+y, ɛ̣́ ɛ̣ nɛ̣́ ɛ̣́ tɛ+á, ɛ̣́ ɛ̣ nɛ̣́ ɛ̣́ tɛ+á.

58. nɛ+m tọ́ mbí ye, wi, Raŋmgbá a tɛ́ ín+aa. 59. nɛ wan kɔ́ mɛ́ bó kụ sɛ́rɛ, gá kụ+ù sɛ́rɛ é zu-mɛ́ ạ+i. 60. nɛ gan am rɛ́m wen kó nɛ tɛ-ré mɛ ná. 61. nɛ nɛ́+m ʔmɔn ín mise.

62. nɛ Raŋmgbá gám tɛ̣-ɛ̣́ wen kó tɛ́+á, ndɛ rɛ ʔmɔ́n ín mise dí̱i. 63. nɛ mise tọ́ gende gá ye ge, mí ná nɛ, ge a tó ró dɛ wen kó saʔde+í ge.

64. nɛ+m tọ́+y, mise, ŋma mɔ kɛ́ rɛ́ wen-dɛ wen+áa gan bó ná.

65. nɛ mise tọ́+y, mí ná nɛ, *mɛ ʔbay yo kpém ɛ̣ɛ (< a + ɛ̣) kọ́ ʔdoŋ+áa. 66. nɛ wí-ré tɛ+á ɔ dɔ́k wen-toy saʔde sɛ́. 67. nɛ wí-ré bó ná ge a dɛ́ ge ndé.

68. nɛ+m tọ́+y mise ná nɛ, *mɛ gó ge a ndɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, ndɛ́ rɛ́) dɛ+á sóó (that is, só kó) ạ́ tọ́ gọ́y ge ndé. 69. nạ ạ tọ́ gende gá ye mí ná, am kọ́ ʔdoŋ-dɛ kpém kọ-sɛra ín ɛ̣́ wen kó yo-saʔde wéndé.

70. nɛ+m tọ́+y wi, mise, am kọ́ ʔdoŋ+áa. 71. nɛ bó+m kọ ʔdoŋ+áa gọ́y, nɛ+m zɔ́k+aa sɛn-tɛ-bɛra-go mɛ. 72. ʔɔ́ɔ́ʔ nɛ kéey tɛ+à dɛ́+m. 73. nɛ+m sáá sék am tọ́+y, ʔɔ́ɔ́ʔ mise, é há wí-ré tɛ́ sɛ́. 74. ɔ́ ŋgay wen kɛ́ rɛ́ wen nɛ́+á.

30. And Monsieur turns around again. 31. And the male one is coming, is coming ferociously, is coming ferociously. 32. And he looks at Raŋmgbá who is running away, and he (the lion) runs as if he is going to seize him. 33. And Monsieur remains and turns with courage, and he shoots him, and he shoots him. 34. And the male (who is shot) takes himself off without stopping and flees.

35. After he runs off in this way, Monsieur turns around, (he) calls with a whistle fééé. 36. But we had divided and had all hidden ourselves. 37. And I say, say to Maydɛ, I say, "Great guns, Maydɛ, I don't know, (but that) he got Monsieur." 38. I say, "The lion got him, the lion got him." 39. And we kept on sitting and sitting and sitting (that is, waiting). 40. And he (Monsieur) blows a whistle, and when I hear it, I say, "Hey, he's still alive, he blows a whistle, and there it sounds." 41. And after we (...) (and) after we go on, he continues to blow the whistle blow the whistle like this. 42. And he's in the process of looking for us, he's looking for us, quite a long time. 43. And we come and we find him.

44. And we gather in one place. 45. And he says, "You there, I've killed an animal." 46. And we say, "Yes, we heard the gun go off. 47. You killed an animal, indeed. 48. And it's not for us to argue about it." 49. And after we had gone, he shot it (and) knocked it down and then he gathered it, and it's here. 50. And all of us, we see it. 51. And we turn around, and we return.

52. And Monsieur says, "Who wants to go to the village to tell Madame to give some bullets to me, to bring them back (and) to call some additional people. 53. And tell Pastor, to bring his gun. 54. If there's a hunter there, (have him) take his gun, so as to fight this battle with me. 55. And I've come (and) started a fight."

56. And after Monsieur has spoken thus I say, "Yes, what about me, do I want to go?" (translation uncertain).

57. And Raŋmgbá says, "Me, I want to go, me I want to go."

58. And I say, "Yes, Raŋmgbá goes with him." 59. And when your master starts a war, in other words (he) has started a war (and) involved you in it. 60. And I can't go to the village there. 61. And I'll stay with Monsieur."

62. And Raŋmgbá turns around to go, and Monsieur and I remain there. 63. And Monsieur says, "You there, what am I going to do about the animal?"

64. And I say, "Monsieur, there's nothing we can do about it."

65. And Monsieur says, "You there, but just the skin alone is what I want. 66. And if there were many people to carry the animal then (it would be fine). 67. But there's no one so what is one to do?"

68. And I say, "Monsieur, but what are we going to do that you talk like this?"

69. And he says, "You there, do you want to be in accord with me about the animal skin?"

70. And I say, "Yes, Monsieur, I want to." 71. And after I agree in this manner, I see him on the plateau clearing there. 72. My, and fear came (and) gripped me. 73. And I think I say, "Oh Monsieur, let some people come first. 74. It's hard for us to go (that is, alone)."

75. nɛ mise tɔ̨́+y mí ná nɛ, ɛrɛ káŋgí kɔ̨-́sɛra kɛ́ rɛ́. 76. ɛrɛ nɛ́ wen kó yo-́saʔde+i.

77. nɛ+m tɔ̨́+y wi, gan am kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ-́si ką́fɛ́ oro-ndú-wa ná. 78. ɛrɛ nɛ́.

79. ną ą tɔ̨́+y paa kó ró ɔ́ sɛnɛ́ gɛ rɛ nɛ́. 80. bɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, bɛ́ rɛ́) nɛ sɛn-tɛ-́bɛra-́go+í, ʔó, mɛ zɔ́k saʔde ɔ́ sɛn-tɛ-́bɛra-́go ɛn-́tɛ̨-ɛ̨́. 81. nɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ gám+á, ŋma mɔ wen kɔ́ rɛ́ hųsi nɛ ríp-rɛ́ kpém gan bó ná. 82. nɛ mise bá wey nɔ́ɔ nɛ ɛ́k sɛn-tɛ-́ŋma bé-kųrí nɛ sɛn-́tɛ-ką́+a+i. 83. nɛ+m sáá sék nɛ+m tɔ̨́ ye wi, ɛ́rɛ́ tɛ+á wen kó fé+á. 84. nɛ gan rɛ tɛ́ wen kó si ná. 85. nɛ wéey ɔ́ nɛ́ zara-́ʔburí, go nɛ́ nɛ ɔ́ ʔmɔ́n ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̨́+i. 86. gó ʔbaa rɛ ɔ+à ʔmɔ́n ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̨́, nɛ wen gan bó ná.

87. nɛ mise ką́sí kų́-ą, nɛ+m bá paa, nɛ dų́ŋ+um ʔbóó, nɛ+m ʔbóó saʔde. 88. nɛ+m zɔ́k nɛ ŋma mɔ dɛ́ mɔ ʔbɛɛkɛrɛ, nɛ+m pį́ paa+i oró+a+i záŋ, nɛ+m kɛ̨ɛ̨́ mɔ. 89. nɛ mise tɔ̨́+y mí ná nɛ, ge ndé.

90. nɛ+m tɔ̨́+y mise, oo fey ndɛ rɛ fe+à kɛ́ rɛ́ sɔ́ɔ gɛ rɛ yá nɛ wí-ré ʔbɔ wéndé. 91. wi, ndɛ rɛ gam tɛ-rɛ́, ndɛ rɛ ką́sí saʔde wen-ʔbór+á+a, ʔbór+á+a, ʔbór+á+a. 92. nɛ mise dų́ŋ kífí, kífí, nɛ+m ʔbóó kífí nɛ+m ʔbóó, kífí nɛ+m ʔbóó, gɛ rɛ ʔbóó saʔde hárá sɔ́n. 93. go bɛ́ rɛ́ ŋmąy ér+aa sɔ́n, ndɛ rɛ zɔ́k, nɛ saʔde+i wen kó ndɛ́ rɛ́ ŋmąy, ąŋ (< ąk) ŋma ʔbaká+a wen-bá+á+a, wí-tóy+á+a gan bó ná. 94. nɛ tan+áa ɔ́ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ ʔbɔ wen kó ndɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, ndɛ́ rɛ́) ŋmą́y+á, wen-́pį sɛnɛ́, wí-tóy+á+a gan bó ná. 95. wen kó am húfí kɔ́+m. 96. ŋgay kɔ́+m gan bó kpém ná. 97. am tɔ̨́ mbí+y wi mise, ɛ̨́ɛ́ rɛm+à rɛ́. 98. ɛrɛ káy ɛ̨́ɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ ɛrɛ sí. 99. nɛ ɛ̨́ɛ́ rɛm+à rɛ́. 100. *kamɛ́ɛm gba koy-́saʔde ʔmɔn+á, go wí-ré nɛ́ dɛ+à yɔ̨́ŋ+á yín, nɛ tɛ́ wá nɛ oro-rɛ́+i wen-́nɛ ndɛ wa kay mɔ́ si wa yɔ̨́ŋ+á, nɛ gan ɛ́rɛ́ ŋgɛm kpás+á saʔde ná.

101. nɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ kay yó+a+i ndɛ rɛ hɛ̨́ɛ́. 102. gɛ rɛ bá ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-pér+á. 103. sóó rɛ́ kpá ó sɔ́rám Banabóy sɛn-́tɛ-kúú mɛ ga bó dųŋ wa nɛ́ kó wa bɔlɔ-rɛ́. 104. dų́ŋ wa héé kɔ̨wá. 105. nɛ wa tɔ̨́ gende gá ye, ʔóʔ, dila kay+á wa wéndé a ɔ́ɔ. 106. nɛ tɔ́+ɔ́ (that is, tɛ́ rɛ́) kpa kpas+á ge zée (< ze). 107. tɛ́ ndo ro kpá wa wéndé. 108. bó wá zɔk gá ɛ́rɛ́ ɔ+ɔ (a + ɔ, that is, a + ɛrɛ) tɛ́ gɔ́ɔ. 109. bó wá zɔk rɛ́ gende gá, óó, *mɛrsíi, mɛrsíi, mɛrsíi, ndɛ rɛ kpá wa.

110. tɛ bɛ́ rɛ́ heʔdi dɔ̨́ɔ́ tɛ-nú-Wáam na, ndɛ rɛ kpá paytɛ́ɛr. 111. ga bó dųŋ nɛ kó ró ín Raŋmgbá ʔbɔ. 112. ndɛ rɛ kpá wa ʔbɔ. 113. ndɛ wa tɔ̨́ gende gá ye, óo, mɛrsíi dɔ́ka, wen kó mɔ nɛ Nzapá ha+á ŋgay hɛ́ rɛ́, gɛ́ rɛ́ gbo+á, go ro zɔ́k kɔ̨-ríp-rɛ́ mɛ. 114. oro há mɛrsíi há Nzapà dɔ́ka.

115. ʔmɔ́n gɛ rɛ á kɔ́ɔ́-ŋmaá ín wa só kɛ́ rɛ́ péé, gɛ rɛ kų́ ri, gɛ rɛ péé, gɛ rɛ gbó zaŋ-ré+i.

116. sɔn+á.

75. And Monsieur says, "You there, let's be courageous. 76. Let's go for the animal skin."

77. And I say, "Okay, I don't want to question your word. 78. Let's go."

79. And he says, "I have a knife so let's go." 80. When we go to the plateau clearing, horrors, you see the animal on the plateau clearing all by itself. 81. And when we turn around, there's not a single thing with which we can conceal ourselves. 82. And Monsieur takes this gun and leans it against a young kụrí tree which stood to the side. 83. And I think, "All right, we came to die. 84. And we don't come to return (home). 85. But man is (just) a reed-stem (quoting a proverb), and (he) goes and sleeps in the bush. 86. And even if we were right in the bush, that's all right."

87. And Monsieur grabs its leg, and takes the knife, and I begin to skin (it), and I skin the animal. 88. And I look and something makes a noise (going) ʔbɛɛkɛrɛ (the rumbling of a stomach), and I cast the knife right down, and I stare around. 89. And Monsieur says, "Say there, what's up?"

90. And I say, "Monsieur, (considering) the death which we have experienced today are we still human beings?" 91. All right, so we turn back, and we seize the animal for skinning, skinning, skinning. 92. And Monsieur continues to turn (it), turn (it), and I skin, turns it and I skin, turns it and I skin, and we skin the whole animal. 93. Then after we cut off the paws, we look, and . . . there's no porter. 94. And there's the head itself also for us to cut off, to add to (the load), (and) there's no porter. 95. Because I'm having diarrhea as far as I'm concerned. 96. I don't have any strength at all. 97. I say, "All right Monsieur, this is enough for us. 98. Let's take this (and) let's go. 99. And this is enough for us. 100. Even if the remainder of the meat stays, and should people act with courage, they could possibly go after us to go and get it to return (and) eat it, but we won't keep the animal itself."

101. And after we take the skin we tie it up. 102. Then we take the path to return. 103. After that we meet Uncle Banabóy and those accompanying him at the other side (of the river) there (for) in other words they themselves are on their way after us. 104. They are crying. 105. And they say, "Oh, indeed the lion got them. 106. And how in the world are we going to survive! 107. Are we going to come and find them?" 108. When they look, in other words here we are coming. 109. When they see us, (they) say, "Oh, thank goodness, thank goodness, thank goodness, we find them."

110. So when we get near the bank of the Wáam here, we meet the pastor. 111. In other words, he is on his way along with Raŋmgbá also. 112. And we meet them also. 113. And they say, "Oh, many thanks, because God has given you strength, so that you have arrived, and we see your faces there. 114. We give many thanks to God."

115. Right there we join up with them, and we return, and we cross the river, and we return, and we arrive in the village.

116. Finished.

4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, ɔ́ nɛ́ fara-́dɛ mɔ. 2. gó wesé+a nɛ bó+í tɔ̨ɔ mbɛ́tí gɔ̨́y ŋmgbáŋ, go *lɛ́ɛr bó rɛ́m+á, nɛ+i kúú á+í nɛ́ sɛn-tɛ-́bɔlɔ́+m mɛ. 3. gó koyo bó dųŋ yɔ̨ŋ mɔ nɛ+i gáy mɔ ʔdɔɔ-́mɔ+i sɛ́ ná. 4. nɛ+i é há mɔ+í dų́ŋ yɔ̨́ŋ bɔɔ-́mɔ á zɔ̨́+i. 5. nɛ yɔ̨́ná nɛ ɔ́ kín+ɛɛ ŋgay gɔ́ɔ. 6. o a tɛ́ ha ŋma hɛ́ rɛ́ wéey.

Son: 7. ʔóʔ yáam (< yám), go+i tɔ̨́ bɔɔ gáa. 8. é tɛ+ɛ́m. 9. gó *lekɔ́ɔl ndɛ rɛ dɛ́ ndɛ rɛ hɔ́ nɛ́ wesé wesé, go mbí ye ge, wesé dɛ+à gáa, nɛ ʔdoŋ-wáá-nɛ fɔ bó ná wá. 10. só kó+m ʔmɔ́n, go+m ʔmɔ́n bɔɔ-́zaŋ-ré. 11. nɛ+i tɔ̨́ gáa, tɔ̨́ bɔɔ gáa. 12. á+í dɛ́ nɛ ré ge ʔbɔ ge.

Father: 13. bó+í kɔ̨ ʔdoŋ-́yaa gére ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ gɔ̨́y, nɛ gan nɛ́+í yɔ̨ŋ kam ná.

Son: 14. ó yáam, gɛ rɛ yɔ̨́ŋ bɔɔ-́kam ná, nɛ tɛ́ rɛ́ fe wɔ. 15. é tɛ́+í zɔk rɛ́ tɛ́ yųm+úí bó ná wéndé.

Father: 16. ó yą́ kɔ́+í sɔ́n, bó wá hɔ lekɔ́ɔl, ndɛ wa nɛ́ bɔlɔ-ó yám kó wa. 17. nɛ yáá kɔ́+í wen-́dɛ saa sɛn-́tɛ-ré+i. 18. ŋma wí-ré yɔ̨́ŋ wár+á-ré.

Son: 19. ga yɔ̨́ŋ bɔɔ-wár+á-ré ná ré ge. 20. mɔ ndɛ rɛ yáá, gɛ rɛ dɛ́ saa+í, ndɛ rɛ zɔ́k kɛ́ rɛ́ ré+i, óró rɛ́ yɔ̨́ŋ wár+á+a yɔ̨́ŋ+i gá. 21. sóó rɛ́ yáá gɛ rɛ dɛ́ saa sɛn-tɛ-́zaŋ-ré+i.

Father: 22. go kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, kó kó+m bó gi kam, nɛ gan nɛ́+í yar+ai yɔ̨ŋ dɛ́+á saa kɔ́+í nɛ+i dɛ́+i. 23. nɛ gan nɛ́+m ha kam há+í yɔ̨́ŋ ná. 24. wen kó mɔ nɛ yár+á-dɛ saa zaŋ-ré ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ, koyo ín ó mboró, ín ó dawa tɛ́. 25. go wa yɔ̨́ŋ ó kɔndi kɔ́+m wéndé gan dų́ŋ wa yɔ̨́ŋ say kɔ́+m sí-ʔday sɔ́n. 26. gó mɔ nɛ+m dɛ+á, gó wesé dɔ+á+m, gó yųm+ɔ́+m+i, zaŋ+ám yų́m wen+áa nɛ́ saa ná. 27. go bó+í yaa rée (< ré), nɛ gan nɛ́+m ha kam há+í yɔ̨́ŋ kɔ́+í ná.

Son: 28. sóó gba+i dɔ+à rɛ́, gɛ́ rɛ́ fe+á wɔ, nɛ wí nɛ́+í gųn rɛ́, ríf+íí nɛ́ ay oro-rɛ́, mɔ́ yųm+úí. 29. nɛ gan nɛ́ yųm kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ rɛ́ ná, wen kó mɔ ndɛ rɛ fe+à kɛ́ rɛ́ sí-ʔday.

Father: 30. go+i tɔ̨́ nɛ́ nday-́wen ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ mɔ́ dųŋ+ui yaa rée a ɔ́ɔ ná.

Son: 31. gɛ rɛ kɔ̨́ bɔɔ kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ fɔ ná. 32. go ré+i rɔ̨́k tɛ-rɛ́. 33. nɛ tɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ bɔɔ nɛ́ ŋgaŋgú-tɛ-rɛ̀ báa.

Father: 34. wesé+a nɛ bó dųŋ+ui yaa gɔ̨́y, nɛ́ nɛ+m tɔ̨ há *mise. 35. óó tɔ̨́ ye ɛ̨ɛ nɛ Ganázuí gá. 36. *abɛ, go bą́ ą́ dɛ lekɔ́ɔl sɔ́n, ną ą rį́k+íí, a ndúy+úí nɛ́ ŋgay sɛ́ tɛ nɛ́+í nɛ bɔlɔ́+m wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔ 37. bó+m įŋ kɔ́+m ná, go+m tɔ̨́ mbí ye, ʔmɔn+á go+i dɛ́ lekɔ́ɔl wéndé, andáa gá+y hɔ+á, gó ʔmɔn+á go+i yáá sɛn-tɛ-́zaŋ-ré-i ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ, go+i é ó koyo ín ó nɔ̨́y gó dųŋ ʔnáŋ mɔ ʔnaŋ+í. 38. gbaa wí-ré

4. Children Should Work in the Garden

Father: 1. Now is the time for working. 2. So after you have studied a long time, and the time is right, arise and go after me there. 3. And if the koyo (birds) are eating things, shouldn't you make a noise in the garden? 4. But you let things continue to eat things and ruin them. 5. Food today is difficult. 6. Who is going to come give some to us?

Son: 7. Oh, Father, so you talk foolishly like this! 8. Let me be. 9. We go to school and come out day after day, and I say, "The sun has set to this point, and there's no way of going to the garden." 10. So I remain, and I remain right in the village. 11. And you talk like this, talk foolishness like this. 12. What do you mean by it? (freely translated).

Father: 13. If you want to run around all the time doing nothing in this manner, then you're not going to eat.

Son: 14. Oh, Father, if we don't eat food, then we'll probably die. 15. When you look upon us won't it hurt you at all?

Father: 16. All your buddies, when they get out of school, they go out to where their fathers are. 17. But you run around to play in the village. 18. Does anyone eat "village-fruit" (that is, fruit produced by the village, posing an impossibility)?

Son: 19. So who (in the world) doesn't eat "village fruit"? 20. Since we run around, and we play, and we for our part see the village, it's as if we ate its fruit. 21. That's how it is that we run around and we play in the village.

Father: 22. Now when my wife prepares food, you're going to run around and eat your play which you engage in. 23. And I'm not going to give food for you to eat. 24. Because of running around to play in the village, koyo (birds) and red monkeys, and green monkeys come. 25. So they eat my corn or they eat my pumpkin completely. 26. So because of the work which I have done, and (because) the sun has burned me and hurt me, I'm terribly upset about it. 27. So if you run around in the village, I'm not going to give food for you to eat.

Son: 28. So if you should keep it from us, and we should die of hunger, you, you'll be the one to bury us and your eyes will yearn for us to the point of hurting you. 29. But it won't hurt us, because we would have died completely.

Father: 30. And aren't you always talking hurtful words so as to continue running around in the village?

Son: 31. And we don't care about going to the garden. 32. And the village pleases us. 33. And do you think that we'll go under compulsion (translated freely)?

Father: 34. Should you continue to run around like this, I'm going to go and tell Monsieur. 35. Or perhaps someone like Ganázuf. 36. So after he's taught school, he'll beat you, and chase you forcefully so that you will go out to where I am because of this. 37. When I don't know, I say, "Perhaps you're still in school." It turns out that you've come out, and you're continuing to run around in the village, and you let the koyo (birds) and the (other) birds continue to ruin things. 38. And if someone should come and steal something,

tɛ+á gó zu+ú mɔ, nɛ wí-zɔk wa gan bó ná. 39. ndɛ wa zú, ndɛ wa yú, wa sí nɛ́. 40. nɛ gan ɔ́ gɔ̨́y rɔ̨́ŋ (< rɔ̨́k) ná.

Son: 41. gó gba+i tɔ̨+á há Ganázuí gó rįk+ɔ̀ rɛ́, sóó kɔ̨-́sɛra-rɛ́ gan kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ-́nɛ fɔ ná. . . .

Father: 42. gó ʔbay mɔ kpém ʔmɔ́n nɛ dɔ́+á ŋmaá. 43. a ndɛ́ rɛ́ dɔ ŋmaá kɔ̨-kpána na. 44. ʔbay wen+áa ą+i.

Son: 45. gó ʔbay mɔ+í wí ye ndó ró dɔ rɛ́ wá. 46. gó gba+i dɔ+à rɛ́, gɛ́ rɛ́ fe+á, nɛ wen bó ná. 47. nɛ ʔbay wen+í a+i tɔ̨́+i.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 1. Bɔysɛ́.

Bɔysɛ́: 2. wóo.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 3. nɛ́+m aŋ (< ak) mɛ́, nɛ́+m aŋ mɛ́ wen kó bém kɔ́ mɛ́ nɛ tɛ́ wen kó bém kɔ́+m. 4. go kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ ám sɔk+à sɔ́n nɛ ŋgay kɔ́+m gan bó wen-́dɛ mɔ kín+ɛɛ ná. 5. nɛ bém kɔ́ mɛ́ e+á+m gó zų+ù yɛ̨́ɛ há sí-ʔday. 6. go wí-dɛ mɔ há+m gan bó ná. 7. go nɛ́+m aŋ mɛ́, gán mɛ kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ+áa há+m káy mɔ kɔ́ mɛ́ há mɛ́ nɛ mɛ tɔ̨́ há+m zéé.

Bɔysɛ́: 8. am kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ+áa ná. 9. go+m tóm hą́ ą ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ mbí ye, ą péé wá á gan ą kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ+áa wen ką́ ą́ pee lám ná. 10. *mɛ ɔ́ nɛ yɔ́+á mɔ ką́ ą. 11. gó wesé+a nɛ bą́ ą́ ʔmɔn gɔ̨́y, nɛ nɛ́+m tɔ̨ wen ín+aa ŋgay mɔ́+m *kalimɛ́ɛ́ tɛ-́ą. 12. ó sɔ́k+á+i nɛ yá mɛ+í, a nɛ́+m tɔ̨ wen ín wa sɛ́ tɛ ndɛ́ wá sa ą tą ą péé bere.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 13. nɛ kɔ́m, am tɔ̨́ mbí ye ge, Bɔysɛ́, nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá kɛ́ rɛ́ ín mɛ́, ndɛ rɛ ɔ́ tɛ-kɔ̨-́zaŋ-́mɔ kɔ́ Nzapá ín mɛ́+i, gan am rɛ́m e foyo ríp-mɛ́ ná. 14. gó mɔ gɔ̨́y am dɛ́ foyo ríp-mɛ́. 15. gan am dɛ foyo ríp-mɛ́ ná, nɛ gan am kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ+áa há bém kɔ́+m ʔmɔ́n gére ná. 16. nɛ+m kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ+áa há wí-ré tɛ́ há dɛ́ mɔ há+m sɛ́. 17. nɛ wen-́ge a mɛ ʔmɛ̨́ɛ́ tí-bém kɔ́+m wen+áa ge ndé.

Bɔysɛ́: 18. ʔááʔ yą́ kɔ́+m, ám įŋ+ɔ̀ kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, wí-ṙé bó kpa wéey-kɔfɛ, nɛ ɔ́ nɛ́ *mandávɛrɛ wen-́dɛ mɔ hą́ ą. 19. go ɔ́ nɛ́ foyo kɔ́+m, wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔ ną ą kur+ó gą́ ą́ zų+ú há ką́-tɛ+ɛ́m gó gan ą dɛ́ mɔ há mɛ́ ná, mɛ tɔ̨́ wen wen+áa+i. 20. nɛ gan ɔ́ nɛ́ ŋma yɔ́+á mɔ ná.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 21. bó pee ʔdoŋ gɔ̨́y, nɛ+m bɛ̨́ kɔ́+m. 22. pee ʔdoŋ gɔ̨́y, nɛ+m bɛ̨́ kɔ́+m. 23. gan am kɔ̨́ ná.

there's no one to see them. 39. And they steal, and they flee, and they go away with it. 40. And it's not good like this.

Son: 41. Even if you told Ganázuf and (he) should beat us, still we don't want to go to the garden.

Father: 42. So there's just one thing, namely, keeping (food) from one another. 43. We'll keep food from each other in the pot here. 44. That's just it.

Son: 45. So that's just it, you say you'll keep food from us. 46. So even if you should keep food from us, and we should die, that's all right. 47. That's just what you say.

5. A Negligent Son-in-law

Nganasέrɛ: 1. Bɔysέ.

Bɔysέ: 2. Yeah.

Nganasέrɛ: 3. I'm going to ask you, I'm going to ask you about your child who is coming for my child (that is, in marriage). 4. So now I've become an old person and I have no strength for working now. 5. But your child (son) has left me and has gone off to a distant place. 6. So there's nobody to work for me. 7. So I'm going to ask you if you want me to gather up your things for you (return what was given of the bride-price), so speak so that I can hear.

Bɔysέ: 8. I don't want that. 9. And I send word to him all the time, I say, "Return," but he doesn't want to return in a hurry. 10. But it's his fault. 11. And if he continues like this, I'm going to talk to him strongly to bring charges against him. 12. The elders who are living there, I'm going to talk with them so that they will call him to return quickly.

Nganasέrɛ: 13. And as for me, I say, Bɔysέ, that because you and I are in the work (literally, things) of God together (freely translated), I can't embarras you. 14. But in this manner I (would) embarrass you. 15. Even if I don't embarrass you, I don't want your son to sit around doing nothing. 16. But I want someone to come to work for me. 17. But why do you keep your son from me?

Bɔysέ: 18. What! My brother, I know that nowadays, when a person gets a son-in-law, he (the son-in-law) is a workman to work for him (the father in-law). 19. And it's my embarrassment that he has arisen and run off from me so that he doesn't work for you but you talk about the matter. 20. It's not (my) fault.

Nganasέrɛ: 21. If (he) should return, for my part I'm through (literally, refuse). 22. Should he return, I'm through. 23. I don't want (anything to do with it).

Bɔysɛ́: 24. go mɛ bɛ̨́ bɔɔ́. 25. nɛ tɛ́+m kpa ŋma kóo íye ndé. 26. mɔ nɛ ɔ́ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ kín+ɛɛ gɛ rɛ ɔ́ nɛ kɔ̨-́zaŋ kɔ́ Nzapá ín mɛ́ tɛ kó+a zéé wen oro-nú+m, ną ą dɛ́ mɔ rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́, go+m zɔ́k go rɔ̨́k tɛ+m gɔ́ɔ+i tɛ+m bá ą há bém kɔ́+m. 27. nɛ bó mɛ́ bɛ̨+á, nɛ ʔdoŋ-wáá ɔ́ ŋgay wen kɛ́ rɛ́ ín+aa, nɛ nɛ́+m kiʔdi ŋma wí-ré ząa.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 28. *bɔ̨́ɔ, go ɔ́ nɛ́ wen kɔ́ mɛ́. 29. gan am rɛ́m tɔ̨ ŋma mbé wen ín mɛ́ ʔbɔ kpém ná. 30. wen kɔ́+m sɔn+à kín+ɛɛ. 31. nɛ gan am kpá wen mɔ́ tɔ̨ ín mɛ́ ʔbɔ ná.

Bɔysɛ́: 32. wen+í á mɛ́ tɔ̨+á+i. 33. go+m kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ+áa ʔbɔ óró mɔ nɛ mɛ tɔ̨+á+i gá. 34. go nɛ́+m tom mbɛ́tí hą́ ą ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́k. 35. go bą́ ą́ tɛ ná, sɛ́ ga ɔ́ nɛ́ wen kɔ́+m wen kó nɛ́+m tom ŋma ó wí-ré ną ą ɔ́ ín+aa mɛ+í, tɛ dɛ́ mɔ ŋgay ín+aa mɛ+í tą ą péé ʔdoŋ. 36. wen kɔ́+m sɔn+á.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 37. ŋma wen bó ná. 38. ʔbay wen ą+i.

Bɔysɛ́: 39. ʔɔ́ʔ ʔbay wen ɛ́rɛ́ hɛ̨r+à zú+a+i nɛ ŋmaa gan bó ʔbɔ ná.

6. A Good Woman

1. déʔdé kóo ín ʔnáŋ kóo. 2. kóo nɛ ó tų́ wí-ré sá ye ŋmaa ɔ́ nɛ́ ʔnáŋ+aa nɛ ŋmaa ɔ́ nɛ déʔdé+a wá+i. 3. wen kó ŋmaa bó dɛ mɔ rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́, gą ą dɛ́ kam ną ą há há ó yąrɛ ką́ ą yɔ̨́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ. 4. nɛ bó ą́ zɔk ó wí-ré ną ą mbá wa, ną ą mám mam+i ín wa rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́. 5. nɛ ą kó béem hó wa. 6. a sá ą ye déʔdé kóo. 7. go ó yąrɛ ką́ ą bó ba mɔ, nɛ tɛ́ nɛ́ hą́ ą, gá ye bá tą ą dɛ́ hó ó bém kó yą́ kó ró, ną ą dɛ́ mɔ ín ró rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́ oro há mɔ hą́ ą tą ą dɛ́ to ro yɔ̨́ŋ.

8. nɛ ą nɔ́ɔ nɛ gan dɛ́ mɔ rɔ̨́ŋ (< rɔ̨́k) ná+i ɔ́ nɛ wí-dɔ ną́ká, gan ą há mɔ há ó yąrɛ ką́ ą yɔ̨́ŋ ná. 9. nɛ gan ą kó béem ná. 10. ną ą dɛ́ sɛn mɔ dɛ́+i ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ. 11. mɔ gɔ̨́y a wa sá ą ye ge ą ɔ́ nɛ ʔnáŋ kóo. 12. go tɛ-́kɔ̨-ríp-ó tų́ wí-ré, kóo nɛ bó rɔ̨k ʔdɛ́ go gba ą rɔ̨k+à óró gende gá sóó gan ą há mɔ há ó wí-ré yɔ̨́ŋ ná, tą ą kó béem ná, ndɛ wa sá ą ye ą ɔ́ nɛ ʔnáŋ kóo. 13. nɛ gan ą ɔ́ déʔdé kóo ná.

14. go déʔdé kóo kó tų́ wí-ré ɔ́ nɛ́ ą nɔ́ɔ nɛ há mɔ há wí-ré yɔ̨́ŋ nɛ góy ó yąrɛ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́, nɛ mám mam+i ín wí-ré nɛ mbá wí-ré rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́, nɛ dɛ́ kusára-́ʔdɔɔ-́fɔ kó wééy kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́. 15. á wa nɔ́ɔ gɔ̨́y ndɛ wa kó béem+i, ó tų́ wí-ré sá ye ge wa ɔ́ nɛ déʔdé kóo.

Bɔysɛ́: 24. But you're refusing for no reason. 25. And where can I possibly get another wife (that is, for my son)? 26. In view of the fact that now we are together in God, and the wife (of my son) obeys me and works very well, and I look, and it pleases me, I take her for my son. 27. But should you refuse, it's difficult for him and me, and I'll look for another person in vain.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 28. All right, so it's your affair. 29. I can't say one more additional thing to you. 30. What I have to say is finished now. 31. I don't find anything to say to you again.

Bɔysɛ́: 32. You've spoken. 33. And I agree to what you've said. 34. And I'm going to send him letters all the time. 35. And if he doesn't come, then it's my responsibility to send some people with whom he lives to urge him over there so that he might return. 36. What I have to say is done.

Nganasɛ́rɛ: 37. I haven't anything further to say. 38. That's just it.

Bɔysɛ́: 39. Well, that's all there is to what we've agreed to (literally, tied up) and there's nothing more.

6. A Good Woman

1. A good woman and a bad woman. 2. (This is about) women of whom black people say some are bad and some are good. 3. Because when a woman (literally, some) works well, she makes food and gives it to her brothers-in-law to eat all the time. 4. And when she sees people, she greets them, and she laughs with them nicely. 5. And she bears children for them (her husband's family). 6. (This is the woman) whom they call a good woman. 7. And when her brothers-in-law get something, they bring it to her saying, "Take it and make something for our brother's children, for you work for us well and we give things to you to make for us to eat."

8. And the one who doesn't do things well is the stingy person, and she doesn't give things to her brothers-in-law to eat. 9. And she doesn't bear children. 10. And she's always spiteful. 11. That's why they say of her, "She's a bad woman." 12. So in the eyes of black people, the woman who is very good, no matter how good she is, if she doesn't give things to people to eat, and doesn't bear children, they say of her, "She is a bad woman." 13. She isn't a good woman.

14. So the good woman among black people is the one who gives things to people to eat and loves her brothers-in-law and laughs with people and greets people well and works in her husband's garden. 15. They are the ones thus who bear children, and black people say of them, "They are good women."

7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. bą́ ą́ dųŋ ré kó wééy ką́ ą mɛ, nɛ bó dɛ pɛ kpém wéndé gan wá dɛ+á ze kpém, ną ą kúú gą ą sí ʔdoŋ tɛ-ré kó yám ką́ ą mɛ. 2. gá ye wéey+i nɛ̨ ɛ̨ ba+á+i, foo kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ gan góy ɛ̨́ ná. 3. go wa tɔ̨́ ye ge ɛ̨́ ɛ̨ ɔ́ nɛ wí-tɔ̨ wen, nɛ ɛ̨́ ɛ̨ gan ɛ̨ zéé tɛ̨-ɛ̨̀ ná. 4. nɛ wééy kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́+i rį́k ɛ̨́ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́k dų́ŋ nɛ́. 5. nɛ gan ɛ̨ kpá dɛ́+á saa tɛ ɔ+á nɛ̨ ɛ̨ dų́ŋ ín wééy kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ sɛn-́tɛ-ré kó kɔ̨-́tuwa kó wééy kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ ná, wen kó mɔ nɛ foo kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ sáá wen ín ɛ̨́ sár+i.

6. gó mɔ gɔ̨́y, ó ŋmaa bó kɔ̨ ʔdoŋ-́si ʔdoŋ ná, nɛ bɛ̨́ ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n go wa ndóy ŋgindá+a sí-ʔday há bɔlɔ́+a go bá gére-́wéey. 7. nɛ į́ nɛ yám ką́ ą bó tɔ̨ mbɔra hą́ ą go bó tɔ̨ ye ge bą́ ą́ bɛ̨́+á, nɛ nɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ rįk+aa wá+i, á į̀ nɔ́ɔ+i a yám kó wa tɔ̨́ wen ín wa nɛ́ ŋgay, go wa bá wa sí nɛ́ ʔdoŋ tɛ-ré kó wééy kó wa mɛ.

8. Gbɛya Warfare

1. am kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ-́usi wen kó biro, biyo-́gbɛ ŋmaá ndɛ wa gbɛ́ nɛ sɛ́rɛ+i.

2. kúku-tí-mɔ, wesé nɛ ŋma wí-ré bó nɛ go ndɔ́ kó kó mɛ́, nɛ oró+a+i nɛ kó kó mɛ́+i bó ba zaŋ go kó béem, gan bé+a fé wéndé, gan béem+i ʔmɔn+à kɔ̨-́zaŋ-́naa kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ mɛ gó gbįn+ɔ̀ gɛ́ɛ́-ɛ̨́ wéndé. 3. nɛ zaŋ-wééy+aa yų́m dɔ́ka. 4. go kóo nɔ́ɔ bó sa yín-wéey nɔ́ɔ nɛ ɔ+à ín+aa+í, nɛ wéey nɔ́ɔ zík tɛ̨-ɛ̨́ go tɔ̨́ hó ó yą́ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́, kín+ɛɛ wi zɔ́k wí-ré nɔ́ɔ ɔ+à ín kó kó+m. 5. go nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá nɔ́ɔ a kó kó+m sa+à yín+aa. 6. go bém nɔ́ɔ fe+á. 7. kín+ɛɛ ɛrɛ nɛ́ wen-́bi biro ín wa.

8. nɛ ó yą́ ką́ ą hárá sɔ́n káy sɛ́rɛ nɛ káy kura nɛ káy ŋgéré nɛ káy zɔm-́paa ín ó boro-́biro nɛ za. 9. go wa nɛ́. 10. gó gba wa kpa wéey-́ndɔ kóo+i ná só kó wá kpa+á ŋma wí-ré zaŋ-ré+i rɔy, gende gá ye wí nɔ́ɔ ndɛ+i ndɔ+á kó kɔ́+m só kó bém kó+m fe+á ą́a wá. 11. ndɛ wa gbɛ́ ą, wéndé gan rííto wéndé gán taa.

12. gó kuu bɔlɔ́+a+i, nɛ ó wí-ré+i, wí-gida kó wa+i, ye ge, óóʔ gba kóo óró ndɔ+à wéndé, nɛ tɛ+à wá gbɛ ŋma ró kpém wéndé gan rííto ná wéndé nɛ kúú wa gbɛ́ ró gán zú+a gáa wéndé. 13. nɛ dų́ŋ kó ró. 14. go ró kátá kátá go kúú nɛ́ zɛ go yú waya. 15. go tɛ́ go háy ką́-zaŋ-́tuwa kó wa nɛ gą́+á fara nɛ́ wesé nɛ wesé re+á, gó fara ɔ́ mbiri mbiri. 16. tɛ wesé+a nɛ bó wá kpa wí-ré, ndɛ wa rɛ́m gbɛ ą. 17. ndɛ wa ɔ́ ką́-zaŋ-́tuwa gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y. 18. go bó wá zɔŋ (< zɔk) ŋma wéey, ndɛ wa dų́m+aa. 19. zu-wí-ré rííto wéndé gán taa gɔ̨́y+i.

7. Why Some Wives Run Away

1. After she has been in her husband's village there, and after she has been there one year or one month, she arises and goes back to her father's village there. 2. (She) says, "The man I married, my in-laws don't love me. 3. And they say that me, I'm a talkative person, and that me, I don't obey. 4. And my husband hits me all the time and keeps on doing it. 5. And I don't find any pleasure to make me to stay with my husband in the village of my husband's house, because my in-laws look for trouble with me."

6. So when some don't want to go back (to the village of their husbands) and categorically refuse, they collect all the money (of the bride-price) given for her and take another person. 7. But the one whose father lays down the law to her and says if she refuses, he'll beat her, this one whose father speaks strongly to her, they take them (such wives who return home) and return them to the villages of their husbands there.

8. Gbɛya Warfare

1. I want to explain about fighting, fighting in which people killed each other with spears.

2. First of all, when someone goes and sleeps with your wife, and later your wife conceives and bears a child, the child either dies or else it has its neck broken while it is still in the womb. 3. So the husband is very much upset. 4. And when the wife reveals the name of the man who slept with her, the husband turns to his brothers and says, "Now, look at this man who slept with my wife. 5. That's why my wife revealed his name. 6. The child died. 7. Let's go now and fight with them."

8. And all his brothers grab spears, arrows, shields, swords and other weapons, and throwing knives. 9. And they go. 10. If they don't find the man who had relations with the woman, but find some other villagers, they say, "You are the ones who had relations with my wife so that my child died." 11. And they kill him, or (even) two or three of them.

12. And after that, their enemies say, "What! Even if we had slept with a woman, they might have come and killed one or two, but why is it that they come and kill so many?" 13. They are together. 14. Then they meet (in a body), arise at night and go secretly. 15. They come and crawl up to their (enemies') houses, at dusk, when the sun has set and it's darkish. 16. At that time, if they find somebody, they can kill him. 17. And they stay near the houses like that a long time. 18. And if they see a man, they spear him. 19. Two or three fall on him in this manner. 20. And when the people come

20. ó dɛ̨́r+á wɩ́-rɛ́ bó dik wɛ́y gbim, ndɛ wa yú wóró go wa kɩ́ʔdɩ́ wa zą̀a.

21. ndɛ wa sáá sék ʔbɔ gende gá ye, go wɩ́-re nɔ́ɔ á ndɔ+á kó kó ró só kó bɛ́m kó ró fe+á go ró nɛ+á biró+a+i ná wɛ́ndɛ́. 22. nɛ wen-́ge a tɛ́ wa gbɛ́ mbɛ́+a ró ɛ́ zú+a ʔbɔ gáá ge ndɛ́. 23. ndɛ wa kúú, go wa nɛ́. 24. go wa kɩ́ʔdɩ́ ó wɩ́-gida kó wa nɔ́ɔ wen-́gbɛ wa.

25. nɛ ŋma ʔdoŋ-wáá kó biro. 26. ɔ́ nɛ́ wesé-dɔ̨́ɔ́. 27. nɛ bó wá nɔ dɔ̨́ɔ́, go bó wá ba dɔ̨́ɔ́ nɛ́ zu-mɛ́. 28. gó gan wa há go mɛ nɔ́ ná. 29. nɛ kuu oró+a+i nɛ zaŋ-mɛ́ yų́m dɔ́ka. 30. mɛ́ ye ɛ̨́ ɛ̨ ɔ́ nɛ wɩ́-dɛ yɔ̨́ná. 31. ɛ̨ tɛ́ gɛ̨ ɛ̨ sóy ndɛ wa bá dɔ̨́ɔ́ nɛ́ zu-ɛ̨́ gɔ̨́y. 32. geʔdɛ́+a a wa ʔdú go wa bá hɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ wɛ́ndɛ́. 33. go bó wá tɔ̨ wen gó zaŋ-mɛ́ bó dɛ dą, nɛ mɛ dų́m wa, mɛ gbɛ́. 34. go mɛ yú mɛ sɩ́. 35. go wa yú wayá+a wa nɛ́ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y. . . . 36. bó ɔ nɛ yɔ́+á mɔ kó mɛ́ ná, go ɔ́ nɛ́ sɛra kó mɛ́ wen-́zu yɔ̨́ná kó wa gɔ̨́y ndɛ wa dɔ+à mɛ́, a bó mɛ́ gbɛ wa wen+áa, ndɛ wa yú wayá+a go wa gbɛ́ wɩ́-rɛ́ taa wɛ́ndɛ́ gan ną́á wɛ́ndɛ́ gán mpɔ̨ɔrɔ́.

37. nɛ ŋma ʔdoŋ-wáá kó biro. 38. ɔ́ nɛ wɩ́-rɛ́ nɔ́ɔ nɛ gbɛ+à ó wɩ́-rɛ́ kó mɛ́ ʔbɛ́ɛ́ tɩ́, gó gan gɔn kɔ́ʔdá+a ná+i. 39. bó mɛ́ kpa ą rɛ́kɛ́t fara-́nɛ kɔfɛ, wɛ́ndɛ́ gán mɛ kpá ą, gą́ ą́ nɛ+à rɛ́ kó rɛ́-naa ką́ ą, nɛ mɛ nɔ́n mɛ tɔ̨́ há ó yą́ kó mɛ́, zɔ́k, ą nɔ́ɔ ną ą gbɛ+à rɛ́+i aa (< a + ą) nɛ́+i. 40. ndɛ wa á tɩ́-wáá, go wa gbɛ́ ą. 41. nɛ oró+a+i, nɛ ó bɛ́-kó ką́ ą nɛ ɔ́ zaŋ-rɛ́+i yú tom go nɛ́ tɔ̨́ há ó yą́ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ gá ye aáyɛ nɛ tɛ+á kɔfɛ dɩ̨yɛ, kɩ́n+ɛɛ ó wɩ́-gida gbɛ+á ą.

42. goʔdo-́wen-́biro nɛ gbɛ+á ŋmaá ɔ+á sɛnɛ́ tɛ-tɩ́i ą+i. 43. nú-wen nɛ gan+à sɔ́n ɔ́ nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá kó ndɔ́+á kóo, wɛ́ndɛ́ gan nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-́doo dɔ̨́ɔ́ há ɛ́ɛ́-ŋmaá, . . . wɛ́ndɛ́ gan nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-́gbɛ mɔ-́day kó ŋmaá.

9. Gbɛya Adornment

1. kɩ́n+ɛɛ nɛ́+m tɔ̨ wen kó mɔ-́a tɛ, mɔ-́mąr+i kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ mąr+á tɛ-tɩ́i.

2. tɛ-́wesɛ̀ kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́, mɔ-́mąr+i kó wa ɔ+á nɛ ɩ́yo-́te. 3. ó ŋmaa ŋmgbɔ́ zɔɔ́rɔ go mą́á. 4. go mą́á tɛ ɔ+á ndɛ wa zɩ̨́m nɛ fón wɛ́ndɛ́ gán tɛ wa zɩ̨́m nɛ́ yɔk. 5. nɛ kpás+á mɔ-́mąr+i nɛ dų́ŋ wa mą́á+i ɔ́ nɛ túrú-rąma. . . .

6. nɛ kó ó kó kɛ́ rɛ́, á kó ró kakó, lúŋmgbé, wɛ́ndɛ́ gan kɛ́rá, wɛ́ndɛ́ gán gbɔgbɔl. 7. nɛ oró+a+ɩ́ ndɛ wa kɩ́ʔdɩ́ ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-́mąa sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á nɛ ʔmɛ̨́ɛ́ mɔ-́foyo kó wa sɩ́-ʔday. 8. ó mɔ-́mąr+i kó ó kpás+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ mąr+á tɛ-tɩ́i ą+i.

running, they flee helter-skelter, and they (the villagers) look for them in vain.

21. And they (the villagers) think and say, "These people, aren't they the ones who slept with our woman so that the child died, and we went a-fighting? 22. And why is it that they come and kill some more of us and add to the mischief in this manner?" 23. So they get up and go. 24. They search for these enemies of theirs to kill them.

25. And here's another way that wars started. 26. Say it's a day of beer-drinking. 27. So they drink beer and pass you up. 28. And they don't give you any to drink. 29. As a result, you are upset. 30. You say, "Me, I'm a producer of food. 31. I come and sit down, and they pass me up. 32. They scoop up the dregs and give to me, do they!" 33. They say things to you so that you get angry, and you spear them, and kill them. 34. Then you flee and return home. 35. So they come secretly on and on. 36. If it's not your fault (that is, you may not have done some evil to them previously), but you have a desire to steal the food of those who kept you from drinking, so when you kill them for it, they come secretly and kill three or four or five people.

37. And here's another way wars started. 38. There's a man who killed one of your family a long time ago, but he didn't pay the ransom. 39. And so if you catch him going to his in-laws, or should you find him at his mother's village, you conspire with your brothers, saying, "Look, there goes the one who killed one of us long ago." 40. Then they set an ambush and kill him. 41. Then girls who are related to him in the village run and tell their brothers, "The one who was coming here about getting married, well, the enemies killed him."

42. Those are the reasons for fights in which people killed each other long ago. 43. The most important ones were for sleeping with a woman or for keeping beer from each other, or for killing each others' stock.

9. Gbɛya Adornment

1. Now I'm going to talk about things to put on, things which our elders wrapped on long ago.

2. In the days of our elders the thing they wrapped on was bark. 3. Some pounded the zɔɓrɔ tree and put on its bark. 4. They put it on so that they might abstain from their wives because of grain sorghum or because of traps. 5. And the real thing they used to put on was cotton cloth.

6. And our women used to put on skirts of leaves—lúŋmgbé or kɛ́rá or gbɔgbɔl. 7. Then they sought some means of covering up their shameful parts. 8. That's what our elders put on long ago.

9. nɛ mɔ-́dɛ bisá+a, wéey bó nɛ kɔfɛ, nɛ tók túrú-tɛndɛ, tɛndɛ-ʔbɛ́ʔbɛ́ wéndé gán gba tɛndɛ. 10. go tóŋ nɛ túrú-rąma go mą́á. 11. ndɛ wa bá dɛla kú-wa. 12. ndɛ wa dɛ́ tan-́wa nɛ mbɔ́ŋgɔ́ wéndé gán nɛ gúdam. 13. ndɛ wa á mɔ zɛra-́wa. 14. ndɛ wa á ŋgabala sɛn-tɛ-́zǫm-́wa. 15. ndɛ wa zų́ mų́rú tɛ-wéěy-ndú-wa, sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á ndɛ wa nɛ́ nɛ́ kɔfɛ. 16. ndɛ wa ndɔ́ɔ́ tan-́wa nɛ́ gbiro-́fɔ. 17. sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á nɛ kóo+i bó zɔk, ndɛ wa dɛ+á bisa gǫ́y, tą ą rɛ́m ba wa. 18. wa ʔbúk zɔm-́paa, go wa á fɔrɛ ʔdoŋ+áa. 19. ndɛ wa ʔbúŋ (< ʔbúk) ndee, ndɛ wa bá sɛ́rɛ kpém. 20. go wa nɛ́ nɛ́ kɔfɛ kó wa. 21. gende gá mɔ-́mąr+i kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ tɛ-tíi ą+i.

22. nɛ oró+a+i nɛ ó kó+a ʔdáfí kó ró. 23. go rį́íí ŋma pɛ́ɛ́ gǫ́y go ką́á sį́yú sį́yú. 24. go sá ye ge gbɛlɛk ą+i. 25. go mą́á. 26. nɛ gan wa į́ŋ ʔdoŋ-wáá kó déʔdé mɔ-́mąr+i ná. 27. go ó ŋmaa dɛ́ kó ró tɛndɛ, go yúú pɛ́ɛ́ sɛnɛ́. 28. go sá gá+y daʔdoŋ. 29. go mą́á tɛ-nú-geʔde-ró. 30. ndɛ wa mą́á gbɛlɛk+í sɛn-́tɛ-tí-wa. 31. ndɛ wa é kuro tɛ-́wa. 32. ndɛ wa dɛ́ tan-́wa. 33. ndɛ wa ʔdáfí ŋma déʔdé kofo. 34. go wa ʔdáfí, go wa hɛ̨́ɛ́ dǫ́ɔ́-tí-wa ndɛ́ɛ́r. 35. sɛ́ tɛ sá gende gá ye zɔ́ŋá kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ dɛ́ zɔ́ŋá ʔdɛ́. 36. ndɛ wa á káná tɛ-éé-wa. 37. nɛ oró+a+i ndɛ wa á ŋgabala tɛ-́zǫm-́wa. 38. ndɛ wa ʔdɔ́y zɛra-́wa go wa á ó mɔ-́dɛ zɔ́ŋá sɛnɛ́.

39. gó kuu oró+a+í nɛ wéey nɔ́ɔ bó tɛ go bó zɔk gǫ́y, gende gá ye déʔdé zɔ́ŋá kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ wá. 40. nɛ kóo+i bó zɔk bisa nɔ́ɔ nɛ wéey dɛ+à gǫ́y, nɛ kóo+i tǫ́ gende gá ye, déʔdé bisa kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ. 41. gende gá goʔdó-wen-́ba ŋmaá kó wéey ín kóo tɛ-́wesé kó ó sɔ́k+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ ą+i. 42. nɛ gan wa įŋ ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-́mąa déʔdé mɔ-́mąr+i óró ɛ̨̀ nɛ kó kín+ɛɛ gá ná.

43. nɛ mɔ-́ɔ+i kó wa ɔ́ nɛ́ kan. 44. ndɛ wa sín ŋma te ŋmíʔní ŋmíʔní, go wa á tɛ-́ʔdɔɔ. 45. go zą́ ŋma dǫ́ te. 46. go wa sá ye ge gan dɔk. 47. ndɛ wa sín kan go wa pį́ sɛn-tɛ-́guro kó wa mɛ, go tɛ́ gǫ́y gǫ́y tɛ-́ʔdɔɔ na. 48. go wa sá gende gá ye ge kɔ́ɔ́-geegezí ą+i. 49. gende gá ó mɔ tɛ-́wesè kó ó kpás+á+i kɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ dɛ+á ą+i.

50. mɔ gǫ́y, kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, ɛ́rɛ́ kpa+á ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-́dɛ geegezí nɛ túrú wéndé gán wen-́kpe tuwa nɛ́ gey. 51. go ą́ mɔ kó tí ndɛ rɛ dɛ+á+i rǫk+á *mɛ gan rǫk gán sɔ́n ná. 52. mɛ rǫ́k gán sɔ́n ɔ́ nɛ kó kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. wen kó yarí. 2. yarí ɔ́ nɛ mɔ-́too tɛ. 3. gó wesé nɛ bó mɛ́ nɛ yarí, nɛ ɔ́ nɛ mɔ-́too tɛ wen-́ba mɔ yǫ́ŋ.

9. As for the adornment of young men—. When a lad was getting married, he would weave a cotton clout, ʔbɛ́ʔbɛ́ or gba tɛndɛ. 10. They'd weave it into a clout and put it on. 11. They put bands on their legs. 12. They fixed their hair either the mbɔ́ŋgɔ́ (description unavailable) or gúdam (lines from front to back) fashion. 13. They put things in their ears. 14. They put nose plugs in their nostrils. 15. They stuck things in their lips, so that they might go to their in-laws'. 16. They twisted their hair with (fibers from the) gbiro-́fɔ tree. 17. Then the girls would see them all dressed up like that, that she (lapse for they) can marry them. 18. They would carry a big knife and put lime on the blade. 19. They'd carry a quiver and one spear. 20. They'd go with these to their in-laws'. 21. That's what our elders wore long ago.

22. Moreover, the women for their part would fix up. 23. They'd make some string and tie it tightly. 24. This is called a gbɛlɛk. 25. They'd put it on. 26. They didn't know anything of good clothes. 27. Some prepared cotton and put a string through it. 28. They called this daʔdoŋ. 29. They put this over their anus. 30. They put the gbɛlɛk in front. 31. They put camwood powder on themselves. 32. They fixed their hair. 33. They fixed some good cowry shells. 34. They fixed them and put them on their foreheads. 35. Then people would say, "So-and-so's girl is really dressed up." 36. And they put bracelets on their arms. 37. They also put ŋgabala in their nostrils. 38. They pierced their ears and put in things to make them look nice.

39. So when this fellow would see the girl, he'd say, "So-and-so's daughter is nice-looking." 40. And when the girl sees the adornment which the young man had put on in this way, the girl would say, "So-and-so's son is nice-looking." 41. That's the explanation of marriage in the days of our elders. 42. They didn't know anything about putting on good clothes like today's.

43. Their beds were stalks. 44. They tied sticks together tightly and put it down. 45. They'd stick some short sticks in the ground. 46. They called this a gan dɔk. 47. They tied stalks (together, making a screen) and put them on (that is, hang from) the storage rack so that (the screen) fell to the ground. 48. They called this kɔ́ɔ́-geegezí. 49. These are the things our elders made in their day.

50. So now we have found a way to make beds (or mattresses?) out of cloth and to fix our houses with mud. 51. The things we did long ago were good, but they weren't exceptionally good. 52. The best things are today's.

10. The Annual Grass-Burning

1. This is about hunting. 2. Hunting is something to get excited about. 3. And when you go hunting, it's something to get happy about because of getting something to eat.

4. gó wesé nɛ bó wá kų náŋá wen-́tɛ wa yáá yarí, nɛ ŋma wí-ré bá gbíya. 5. gą ą tǫ́ ye ge ɛ̨ɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ ɔ́ nɛ zǫ́ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ ą+i. 6. gą ą káy dal rííto, ną ą mǫ́y ó nam ką́ ą, nɛ ó ŋma nú-wey ką́ ą, go wa zík tí-gbíya ką́ ą. 7. ną ą há oro-nú wen-́nɛ mbɔ́ wá wa. . . . 8. wa bá zawa, ndɛ wa gí waa. 9. gą ą há oro-nú há kó ką́ ą tɛ ɔ+á nɛ gí waa, tɛ ndɛ́ wá per+á ndɛ wa yǫ́ŋ. 10. ndɛ wa káy gba zawa. 11. ndɛ wa zą́ gɔrɔ. 12. go wa á kp̧-́mɔ, á kp̧-́daná, gó ŋma béem bá go ʔbúk. 13. ndɛ wa bá dal+í, nɛ dų́ŋ wa mbɛ́ɛ́. 14. ndɛ wa bá ʔdoŋ-ré ndɛ wa láŋgí. 15. dų́ŋ wa nɛ́ sɛnɛ́. 16. ndɛ wa sá gima. 17. go wa bá gima-́ŋgan wí. 18. go dų́ŋ wa sá gima fu, fu, fu, fu fu. 19. dų́ŋ wa nɛ́ nɛ́. 20. gɛ́ɛ́-wa dųŋ wéé ŋmgbɔʔbɔk, ŋmgbɔŋ ŋmgbɔʔbɔ. 21. wí-ré zéé gɛ́ɛ́-wa. 22. go bó wá hɔ sɛn-tɛ-́zaŋ-ré, nɛ ó ŋma wí-zaŋ-ré kúú nɛ wé tí-wa nɛ dɛ́ too tɛ ín wa. 23. gende gá ye ge, ɛ̨ɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ ɔ́ nɛ gbíya kó ró oro bá. 24. go wa zík tí-gbíya gǫ́y.

25. go mbóro bó dɛ́+á+a, ndɛ wa zik+ò nú-gbíya kó wa+i kpá, ʔmɔ́n nɛ gendé ndɛ wa gbó tɛ-́zaŋ-ré, nɛ mbóro, gende gá wá yp̧ŋ+á gɔrɔ ndɛ wa a+à kp̧-́daná ín gba zawa+i sɔ́n. 26. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ bó wá gbo ré, gende gá kó kó wan gbíya+í á gi+ó waa+í, ną ą káy hɔ́ wa, go ó béem nɛ zik+ò tí-gbíya ín+aa+í. 27. wa yǫ́ŋ. 28. gą ą dɔ́ tí-gbíya ką́ ą gǫ́y gǫ́y.

29. gó bɛrɛ bó dɛ́+á, wesé-dɔ gbíya bó rɛ́m+á+a, ną ą káy ŋgaragé, gą ą há oro-nú hó wa wen-́mp̧y tɛ-nú-tuwa ką́ ą. 30. nɛ wan gbíya a bá gɛzɛ-́sunu ką́ ą é nu, gą ą gbó zú+a gunduŋ, gą ą dɛ́ nɛ́ kam há ó ŋgaragé ką́ ą go yǫ́ŋ. 31. go dų́ŋ wa mbɛ́ɛ́ gata. 32. wa mą́á kísi. 33. go dų́ŋ wa dɛ́ too tɛ. 34. wa yɔ́ yɔra. 35. wa dɛ́ gɛ̨́ wen kó mɔ nɔ́ɔ ndɛ wa heʔd+á mɔ́ dɔ gbíya mbɔ́ wá gbɛ saʔde mbɔ́ wá yǫ́ŋ+á+a. 36. go bó wá yɔ ŋgaragé rɛ́m, gende gą́ ą́ kay+à ó wí-ré gó dę̀r+á, mɔ́ rɛm mɔ́ dɔ gbíya+i, . . . ną ą tǫ́ hó ó koy-wí-ré ką́ ą nɛ koy-ó dę́r+á wí-ré sɔ́n zéé hųrí+a.

37. gó zɛ nɛ bó ndɛ́ wá dɔ nɛ gbíya+í. 38. nɛ fara sá, ndɛ wa yú tí-gbíya. 39. go bó wá zik nú-gbíya kpá sɔ́n, ndɛ wa á wey tɛ-gbíya go wa dɔ́. 40. go bó wá dɔ zǫ́ nɔ́ɔ, . . . wan gbíya+i ye ge wa ndɛ wa yá kó wa nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-búk+i a kín wa dɔ́ tí. 41. wa ndɛ wa yá nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-búk+i wa dɔ́ nɛ yɔ́l+á nú+a, nɛ dúr+ó+i. 42. a é ŋma wí-ré sɛnɛ́, wí-mbó+á zu. 43. gó ą nɔ́ɔ+i aa (< a + ą) dɔ́. 44. nɛ ą ną ą dų́ŋ ŋgondo+í, wan gbíya dų́ŋ ín+aa. 45. gende gó wá ʔdaf+á gam guram, gó wá a+á sɛn-tɛ-́kp̧-kóʔbo rííto. 46. ʔmɔn+á go wa yáá nɛ́ sɛn-tɛ-́fara-́ŋgondo+í. 47. go bó wá dɔ gbíya wa tɛ́ gǫ́y, go bó wá heʔdi ín ŋgondo dǫ́ɔ́, ndɛ wa pį́ nú-kan nu. 48. go ʔmɔn+á go wa

4. When they begin to go hunting, someone assumes supervision of the hunting area. 5. He says that this is his grass. 6. He gets two dal drums, and he gathers his family and some of his clansmen, and they make a circuit of his area. 7. And he instructs them to go and hoe. . . . 8. They take peanuts, and they cook beans. 9. And he instructs his wife to cook beans, so that when they return, they will eat. 10. They take gba zawa (ground-nuts). 11. They dig up yams. 12. They put them away, that is, they put them in a sack, and a child takes it and slings it over his shoulder. 13. And they take the drum and begin to beat it. 14. They go behind the village and go on. 15. They go on in this way. 16. They sing songs. 17. They take up the ŋgan wí song. 18. They go on singing fu fu fu fu. 19. They go on and on. 20. Their voices go ŋmgbɔˀbɔk (onomatopoeic of many voices). 21. People hear their voices. 22. And when they come to the village, some villagers get up and meet them and carry on with them. 23. They say, "This is our hunting area, we take it." 24. They make a circuit of the area in this way.

25. So when it's evening, after they have made a complete circuit of their area, that is to say, they arrive at the village in the evening, in other words, they ate the yams which they put in the sack along with the groundnuts. 26. And when they arrive in the village, in other words, the wife of the master of the area has cooked the beans, and she gives (the beans) to them and the youngsters who made the circuit with him. 27. They eat.

28. So he (the master of the gbíya) burns the edge of his area in this way. 29. And when the dry season has come, when it's time to burn the area, he takes some ŋgaragé society members and instructs them to meet at his house. 30. The master of the gbíya takes a basket of sesame and opens it up pow! and he has it prepared for his ŋgaragé hunters, and they eat. 31. And they begin to beat the gata drum (after they have eaten). 32. They tie on beads. 33. They begin to celebrate. 34. They dance. 35. They have a lot of fun, because they are getting near to burning the area to kill animals to eat. 36. When they have danced enough of the ŋgaragé dance, in other words, he (the master) has taken a lot of people, enough to burn the area, and he tells all of the rest of his people, and all the rest of the many people hear about it (those in neighboring villages hear of the affair).

37. And that's on the night before they are going to burn the area. 38. Day breaks, and they hurry around the limits of the area. 39. And when they have made a complete circuit of the area, they set fire to the area, and they burn it. 40. So when they have set fire to this grass, . . . the master of the gbíya says, "They who remain beneath (downwind?) the wind, now they should burn first. 41. Those who remain beneath the wind should burn the long unburnt areas." 42. He puts somebody there, a trustworthy person. 43. He's the one who sets it afire. 44. The one who is in the ŋgondo (the direction from which the wind is blowing), he's the one with whom the master of the gbíya waits. 45. In other words, they have prepared the whirlwind (see Vocabularies) and have put it in two kóˀbo tree nuts. 46. They continue on their way with them (the nuts) to the ŋgondo. 47. So after they set fire to the area, they come like that, and when they come close to the ŋgondo area they put the ends of the stalks to the ground (to set fire to the grass). 48. They

ŋgɛ́m há wey-gbíya mɔ̨́y tɛ-́saŋa sɛ́. 49. gó wey bó mɔ̨y tɛ-́saŋa, go bó ʔbo kokoroŋ kor, gende gá wan gbíya zɔk+á gende gá, rɛm+à mą́ ą́ pį gam guram ą+i. 50. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ kote wí-pį gam guram+í, ą bá kó+a tí, gą ą pį́ hóv̂óv̂ó. 51. ʔmɔ́n ną ą ró nɛ́ ŋma gą́s+á te v̂oŋ. 52. a mbáŋ. 53. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ bą́ ą́ ba wééy+aa. 54. íŋáá pį́ bɔlɔ́+a hóv̂óv̂ó, ną ą ró nɛ́ te+í v̂oŋ. 55. a mbáŋ. 56. nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ gendé nɛ bó wá e wey sɛn-tɛ-́bɔnɔ́+a vip . . . bą́ ą́ gɔm tut, nɛ ʔmɔ́n nɛ wey bó kpa ŋmaá gboŋgom bɔnɔ́+a nɛ gam guram bó zų nu ʔmuŋ. 57. gɛ́ɛ́-gam guram dųŋ wéé gbi gbi gbi, gbi gbi gbi, gbíígbíí. 58. gende gá ó wí-nɛ yarí bó zee gɛ́ɛ́-gam guram bó dųŋ nɔ̨y ʔdiriri ʔdiriri gɔ̨́y gende gá, ó wí-yarí kɛl+à kɛ́lá kɛ́lá. 59. į́í dɛ+á tɛ̨-ɛ̨́ nɛ wéey. 60. į́í dɛ+á tɛ̨-ɛ̨́ nɛ wéey. 61. tɛ-́wa dųŋ ną́k yɛtɛtɛ. 62. dų́ŋ wa gbóʔdí sɛ́rɛ mɔ́ sɛm sɛm, sɛm sɛm. 63. dų́ŋ wa háy ʔdɔɔ-́wey nɔ́ɔ mɔ́ gɛ̨rɛŋ, gɛ̨rɛŋ gɛ̨rɛŋ. 64. wí-ré kɛ̨́ɛ́ mɔ, á íyɛ. 65. į́ì kɛ̨́ɛ́ á íyɛ. 66. gan ɛ̨́ a tą́ ą́ hɔ tɛ̨-ɛ̨́+i wéndé, gan ɛ̨́ a tą́ ą́ hɔ tɛ̨-ɛ̨́+i wéndé. 67. nɛ wí-ré sɔ́n nɛ zik+ɔ̀ tí-gbíya+í, wa yá nɛ wéey wéey sɔ́n, wen kó mɔ nɛ gam guram hé mɔ gó gan rɛ́m ná. 68. tɛ bó zɔk gende gá ŋma gą́s+á saʔde á gam guram ʔmɛ̨r+á gó dųŋ dɔ́ ą. 69. dɔ́ ą nɛ́ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y gó ber+á ą go tɛ-́ą tų+ù kpɔ̨́ŋ. 70. saʔde bó gɔ́m+á+a, ʔmɔ́n nɛ gendé nɛ ŋma wí-ré bó hɔ hɛr, nɛ dų́m+aa vąy. 71. nɛ ʔmɔ́n ną ą hé zú+a gbél. 72. gende gá gam guram nɛ+à ndɛ́ wa ŋgɔ́rɔ́m, ŋgɔ́rɔ́m. 73. go dų́ŋ wa tɛ́ kɔʔdɔrɔ, kɔʔdɔrɔ kɔʔdɔrɔ. 74. dų́ŋ wa dų́m wa. 75. ʔmɔn+á go dų́ŋ wa yú wey wa nɛ́+i, nɛ́+i nɛ́+i nɛ́+i.

76. gó zee wey+í bó kpa gboŋgom, gende gá fara kó saʔde nɛ bą́ ą́ kpa sɛnɛ́ gó gam guram bó zɔk kpás+á ó saʔde+í, bó ɔ zaŋ+áa nɛ mbɛ́tɛ, gam guram á dɔ+á wa nɛ́ nɛ́ gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y. 77. nɛ́ nɛ ó ndarà nɔ́ɔ. 78. mɔ̨́y zak-́wa, kpó nɛ́ ŋmaá. 79. bo+á nɛ ó mboró ną ą mɔ̨́y tįi-́wa nɔ́ɔ gɔ́ɔ gą ą kpó nɛ́ ŋmaá. 80. bo+á te ną ą kpó nɛ́ ŋmaá. . . . 81. ʔmɔ́n ndɛ wa gbɛ́ saʔde tɛ-wár+i, wár+i, wár+i. 82. dų́ŋ wa gbúú tɛ-wár+i, wár+i wár+i. 83. bo+á wen kó bé-saʔde nɛ gan zɔ́n ná. 84. wa gbɛ́ saʔde. 85. mbóro bó dɛ́+á+a, ndɛ wa ɔ́ nu. 86. káy saʔde+í go sí go wa yɔ̨́ŋ.

87. gó fara bó sá+ára, ndɛ wa nɛ́ ba tí-wey. 88. gende gá gam guram dɛ+á mɔ nɛ́ saʔde zɛ́ɛ gan rɛ́m ná . . . . 89. wa nɔ́ɔ nɛ wey ber+á wa gó hɔf+à kátó-éé-wa sɛnɛ́ hóv̂ó hóv̂ó, hay+á gó nɛ+á go wa gú ʔdɔɔ-́waka wéndé, ndɛ wa gbɛ́ wa. 90. gán wá ʔmɔn+á gó wá re+á ʔdɔɔ-́poo wéndé, go bó wá kpa wa nɛ dų́ŋ wa nɛ́ kɔʔdɔrɔ kɔʔdɔrɔ, ndɛ wa gbɛ́ wa. 91. go wa sí nɛ́ tɛ-ré go dų́ŋ wa yɔ̨́ŋ.

92. gó wesé kó gbíya ɔ́ nɛ mɔ-́too tɛ. 93. go bó mɛ́ nɛ yarí, nɛ nɛ́ mɛ́ kpa saʔde mɔ́ mɛ́ si mɔ́ mɛ́ yɔ̨́ŋ+á. 94. nɛ wesé-yɔra mɛ nɛ́, nɛ gan nɛ́ mɛ́ kpa mɔ mɔ́ mɛ́ yɔ̨ŋ óró mɔ nɛ wesè-gbíya gá ná. 95. nɛ wesè-gbíya ɔ́ nɛ́ too tɛ. 96. gó *kamɛ́ɛm wí-ré nɛ yɔ́ yɔra

continue to wait for the fire of the area to meet in the center. 49. So when the fire meets in the center and makes a circle, in other words, the master of the area has decided, in other words, that he can throw in the whirlwind. 50. Just then the master-thrower of the whirlwind takes the female one first and throws it forcefully. 51. Just like that, he smashes it against a large tree; crash! 52. It breaks open. 53. Then he takes the male one and throws it forcefully. 54. He smashes it against a tree; crash! 55. It breaks open. 56. Then, in other words, when they set fire after he's done this, then when he jumps out of the way suddenly, then when the fire meets gboŋgom (onomatopoeic for loud noise) after he's done this, the whirlwind descends ʔmuŋ (onomatopoeic of certain noise). 57. The voice of the whirlwind makes a noise gbi gbi gbi (onomatopoeia). 58. In other words, when the hunters hear the voice of the whirlwind rumbling ʔdiriri (onomatopoeia) like that, in other words, the hunters are happy. 59. That one acts like a man. 60. That one (a man) acts like a man. 61. Their bodies tremble yɛtɛtɛ. 62. They continue to grab their spears (that is, to make them tremble) sɛm sɛm. 63. They continue to stoop beneath this fire rapidly. 64. One man looks over there. 65. That man looks over there: 66. "Is it (the animal) going to come out by me?" 67. And all the people who encircled the area, they all stand in a manly way because the whirlwind is making a terrible noise. 68. So when you look, in other words, the whirlwind has stopped a large animal and is burning it. 69. It burns it and burns it so that its body is completely black. 70. When the animal tries to escape, in other words, someone comes out (and cuts it off) and spears it forcefully. 71. The man cries out. 72. In other words, the whirlwind has gone on with all the animals. 73. So they (the animals) come perseveringly. 74. The people go on spearing them. 75. And they go on running after the fire.

76. When the people hear the fire meet gboŋgom (onomatopoeia), that's to say, the place where the animals are, when the fire meets there, when the whirlwind sees the animals, when they are really there, the whirlwind has burnt them and continues to do so. 77. It took these buffalo. 78. It brought their horns together and tied them all up. 79. In the case of red monkeys, it gathers their tails and ties them up. 80. In the case of trees, it ties them up. . . . 81. They kill animals on this side and that side. 82. They drag them from this side and that. 83. In the case of small animals, they don't bother with them. 84. They kill animals. 85. When it's evening, they lie down. 86. They take the meat back and eat it.

87. The next day they go to examine the fire. 88. In other words, the whirlwind really did a lot to the animals yesterday. . . . 89. They crawl and crouch down in the burnt grass and kill some of those (animals) which the fire burned and peeled off their hooves. 90. If they were still alive and had entered a gallery-forest, when the people would find them marching off, they'd kill them. 91. They take (the meat) back and eat it.

92. The gbíya days are a lot of fun. 93. If you go hunting, you will get animals to take back and eat. 94. When you go to dances, you won't get anything as on the day of the gbíya. 95. The gbíya days are a lot of fun. 96. And even if someone hasn't danced but has gone to the gbíya, they all go

ná, gó nɛ+á sɛn-́tɛ-gbíya, ndɛ wa sɔ́n wa nɛ́ tɛ-́sɛnɛ́, wa gbɛ́ saʔde. 97. go wa sí go wa yɔ̨́ŋ. 98. go gbíya ɔ́ nɛ mɔ-́too tɛ kó ó tų́ wí-ré nɛ dɛ́ saa wen+áa. 99. go bó zee ye ge, wí-ré ba+à gbíya ndɛ wa dɛ́ gɛ̨́+a tɛ ɔ+á ndɛ wa kpá mɔ sɛnɛ́ tɛ wa yɔ̨́ŋ.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. kúku-́tí ʔbéé, nɛ ri gan bó sɛnɛ̀ ná, gó Gbagbasɔ̨ á rųm+ɔ́ ri nɛ gą́sá kɛrɛ. 2. nɛ ó wí-ré gan kpá ri mɔ́ nɔ́+á ná. 3. go hɛ́ ri ín+aa hɛ́+i lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́ lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́. 4. nɛ gan ą há ri hó wa dɔ́k wen-́mɔ ndɛ wa há hą́ ą tą ą há ri hó wa wen-nɔ́+á+a+i ná.

5. gó wan to kpá ri mɔ́ nɔ ín bém kɛ̨́ ɛ̨ ná. 6. gó ye ge ge a nɛ̨́ ɛ̨ dɛ nɛ́ Gbagbasɔ̨, sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á nɛ úsí fara-́ri nɔ́ɔ to ro nɔ́ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́k ge ndé.

7. nɛ ó wí-ré bó nɛ tɛ-tɛ-́ą mɛ, ną ą há ri hó wa dɔ́ŋ (< dɔ́k) ná. 8. gó Gbagbasɔ̨ dóó ri dór+i há éé-ó wí-ré go é wen kɛ̨́ ɛ̨ ín kó kɛ̨́ ɛ̨ nɛ bém kɛ̨́ ɛ̨.

9. nɛ wan to tó fire go á tɔ́ŋ sɛnɛ́. 10. go mbóʔdí fire go nɛ́ dą́ŋ gɔla kɔ́ Gbagbasɔ̨ nɛ dų́ŋ ʔdɔr+áa go fán nɛ́ mɔ kɛ̨́ ɛ̨ ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́k+i, tóko wéndé gan yéré, wéndé gán gagiʔda. 11. nɛ Gbagbasɔ̨ fán. 12. wan to hɔ́ nɛ zu-́zɛ ʔnɛ́ŋ. 13. go nɛ́. 14. go nɛ́ dą́ŋ gɔla ką́ ą ną ą dų́ŋ ʔdɔr+áa só ką́ ą́ fán nɛ́ mɔ+í. 15. go dų́ŋ sɛn-tɛ-́sara-́te+í nɛ́ sɛra-zu-́ą ŋgɔ́n mɛ.

16. go bą́ ą́ tɛ mą́ ą́ dųŋ sɛnɛ́, ną ą dų́ŋ ą fán ó tóko ką́ ą sɛn-tɛ-ʔdɔɔ-gįrɔ-́gɔla+i. 17. nɛ wan to ʔbíí fire+i nɛ yɔ̨́ŋ, nɛ dɔ̨́n pį nu. 18. nɛ ó toró ką́ ą nɛ yá ką́-tɛ-́ą+i bá fire+i, nɛ dųŋ yɔ̨́ŋ ŋmaà wen+áa. 19. ndɛ wa yɔ̨́ŋ fire+i sɔ́n. 20. nɛ wan to ʔbíí mbé+a nɛ pį nu. 21. nɛ Gbagbasɔ̨ tɔ̨́+y, ʔmḿʔ. 22. ge ó toró nɔ́ɔ+i yɔ̨́ŋ gɔ̨́y só kó ʔmɔn+á go wa yɔ̨́ŋ ŋmaá wen+áa, nɛ zɔ́k fara-́mɔ+í nɛ tɛ́+i ná, nɛ hɔ́ nɛ ŋgɔ́n mɛ, nɛ téŋ (< ték) nu só kó toró+i dųŋ ną́ą́ ŋmaá wen+áa go yɔ̨́ŋ gɔ̨́y ge ndé.

23. nɛ wan to bó pį mbé+a nu ʔdoŋ+ɛ, ną ą yɔ̨́y ér+aa, gą ą bá éé-ó toró+i. 24. gą ą nų́n a zɔ́k. 25. bą́ ą́ nų́n nɔ́+a, nɛ nų́n sąa. 26. gá ye tɛ̨́ ɛ̨ yɔ̨ŋ táá ɛ̨ zɔ́k nɛ mɔ nɔ́ɔ+i dɛ́ rɔ̨ɔ. 27. ó toró yɔ̨́ŋ go ʔmɔn+á go ną́á ŋmaà wen+áa gɔ́ɔ. 28. nɛ Gbagbasɔ̨ bá fire+i go yɔ̨́ŋ. 29. nɛ wan to ʔbíí mbé+a pį nu ʔbɔ. 30. ną ą bá ną ą yɔ̨́ŋ. 31. nɛ ɛ̨ɛ́ nɛ ó

there, they kill animals. 97. They return and eat. 98. And the gbíya is a lot of fun, and black people rejoice because of it. 99. When they hear that a person has assumed the gbíya, they are happy, because they will get meat and eat it.

11. The Origin of Rivers and Islands

1. A long time ago there was no water, because Gbagbasɔ had collected it all in very large pots. 2. Consequently, people didn't find water to drink. 3. They had to buy it from him a little at a time. 4. He didn't give them a lot of water for the things they gave him in order that he might give them water to drink.

5. So Wanto didn't get any water so that he and his children could drink. 6. So he said, "What am I going to do to Gbagbasɔ to make him show me where this water is so that we could always drink?"

7. People went to Gbagbasɔ, and he didn't give them very much water. 8. Gbagbasɔ kept water from people for himself, his wife, and his children.

9. And Wanto made some (peanut) paste and put salt in it. 10. He made balls of the paste and climbed Gbagbasɔ's gɔla tree underneath which he always sat and wove things: sleeping mats, yéré baskets, or wall mats. 11. Gbagbasɔ was weaving. 12. Wanto got up very early in the morning. 13. He went. 14. He went and climbed Gbagbasɔ's tree underneath which he sat and wove. 15. And Wanto sat there on a fork of the tree right above Gbagbasɔ.

16. And after Gbagbasɔ came to sit there, he began to weave his mats in the shade of the gɔla tree. 17. And Wanto broke off a piece of the paste, tasted it, and threw it down. 18. Now Gbagbasɔ's dogs which were sitting there beside him snatched up the paste and began to bite each other for it. 19. And they ate it all up. 20. And Wanto broke off some more and threw it down. 21. And Gbagbasɔ said, "What's this? 22. What are the dogs eating here that they are biting each other and yet I don't see what it is that's coming from above and falls on the ground so that the dogs are fighting over it and eating here?"

23. And when Wanto had thrown some more down, Gbagbasɔ reached out and grabbed the paws of the dogs. 24. He smelled and examined it. 25. He smelled the oil and it smelled sweet. 26. He said, "Perhaps I should eat some to see, for this thing is good. 27. That's why the dogs are eating it and fighting over it." 28. So Gbagbasɔ took the paste and ate it. 29. Then Wanto broke off some more and threw it down also. 30. And Gbagbasɔ took the paste and ate it. 31. And since the dogs continued to take it and eat it, for he didn't chase them away, when Wanto broke off some more and threw it down, he

toró dųŋ+ɔ́ bá nɛ yǫ́ŋ ną ą fó wa há sɛnɛ̀ ná, nɛ wan to bó ʔbii mbé+a pį́ nu ną ą ndák ó toró+i sí-ʔday nɛ ą bá ną ą yǫ́ŋ.

32. gǫ́y nɛ nú-ŋguʔdú-ą dɔm+à túlúlú. 33. nɛ hę̃ɛ́ gbɛ́ ą wen kó mɔ ną ą sąm+á fire nɛ wan to ʔbir+ò á nu+i kɔ́ɔ́ yę̃ɛ́ gó gan ą kpá ri mą́ ą́ nɔ́+á ná. 34. gą ą kúú ʔbɛt. 35. gą ą bá tóko ką́ ą, ą é ŋgɔ́n, ną ą bá danà ką́ ą, go ʔbúk. 36. gą ą kúú gą ą nɛ́ óró ną́ ą́ nɛ óró Laagata nɔ́ɔ mɛ gɔ́ɔ+i gá. 37. ną ą dɛ́ *malɛ́ɛ nɛ́ mɛ wen-́goʔbi wen-́tɛ wen-́ri ę+i. 38. nɛ́ go nɛ́ ą yóó mɛ gą ą péé ʔdoŋ gɛʔdɛ́k, gɛʔdɛ́k gɛʔdɛ́k. 39. go tɛ+á gą ą hų́y mɔ há nú-ri+i nɛ ą rųm+ɔ́ nɛ gą́sá kɛrɛ ʔdoŋ kpém gą́ ą́ hųs+ɔ́+i. 40. ʔmɔ́n ką́-ré ką́ ą dį́yɛ+i. 41. gą ą nɔ́‿ŋma gǫ́y. 42. ną ą bá ʔdoŋ-wáá gą ą bíí nɛ́ oro-́ą mɛ. 43. gą ą péé ʔdoŋ tɛ-́ʔdɔɔ-́gɔla ką́ ą.

44. nɛ wan to dų́ŋ nɛ́ sara-́te mɛ nɛ zɔk+á fara-́ri+í ną ą nɛ+á wen+áa gó nɛ+á ą nɔ́+i sɔ́n. 45. nɛ bó dųŋ ą péé ʔdoŋ nɛ wan to zį́í kę́ ę́ go gɔ́ʔbí nɛ ką́-tɛ go sí ʔdoŋ tɛ-́oro-́ą mɛ mɔ́ nɛ ʔburi kpána-́ri+i á zǫ́. 46. nɛ bą́ ą́ pee go bą́ ą́ soy nu, nɛ wan to bá mɔɔ+yɛ́ kę́ ę́, bá bé-duk kę́ ę́, go nɛ́ go nɛ́ rį́k gą́sá kɛrɛ+i nɛ oro-́ri+i puya, rį́k puya, rį́k puya, nɛ ri fók á nu nɛ́ yɛŋ, yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ yoŋ.

47. nɛ Gbagbasǫ bó zɔk+á. 48. nɛ óóʔ nɛ wan to ʔbur+ó ri+i á zǫ́ gó dųŋ fók mɔ́ láŋg+á+a. 49. nɛ kúú go yú nɛ́, yú nɛ́ nɛ híí gú nu nɛ á éé-ę́ wáá-ri. 50. gende gá ye á éé-ę́ wáá-ri tɛ ri fók láŋgí ná. 51. nɛ ri kę́ nɛ íyɛ nɛ kę́ nɛ íyɛ nɛ e+á wǫk Gbagbasǫ sɛn-tɛ-́gbɔgbɔ-́ri+í. 52. nɛ ri fók nɛ ką́-tɛ. 53. nɛ Gbagbasǫ kúú nɛ yú nɛ láŋgí, gá+y nɛ́ ę ʔmęɛ nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ mɛ sɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á tɛ ri+i láŋgí ná tɛ ʔmɔ́n tí-ę́+i. 54. tɛ bó nɛ bó gu sɛnɛ́, nɛ ri kę́ nɛ íyɛ kę́ nɛ íyɛ nɛ fók láŋgí nɛ é wǫk Gbagbasǫ sɛn-tɛ-́gbɔgbɔ-́ri. 55. ʔmɔ́n gǫ́y nɛ Gbagbasǫ gá+y ʔó, gan ę kpá ŋma mɔ mę́ ę́ dɛ́+á ná. 56. nɛ wan to ʔbur+ó ri á zǫ́. 57. gó ʔnaŋ+à ʔmɔ́n. 58. nɛ gan nę́ ę́ ʔmęɛ tí+a tɔ́ ʔbɔ bó ná. 59. ʔmɔ́n nɛ ri fók kę́ ę́ go láŋgí.

60. go kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, gą́sá ri ɔ́ sɛnɛ́. 61. gó saakara nɛ ɔ́ saŋa-Wáam gɔ́ɔ, gá fara nɛ Gbagbasǫ gu+ú sɛnɛ́ tɛ ɔ+á nɛ ʔmę̃ɛ́ tí-ri há fóŋ (< fók) ná wá, go ri fók kę́ ą íyɛ kę́ ą íyɛ. 62. gó mɔ+í á saakara ɔ́ saŋa-Wáam wen+áa+i. 63. gó wan to gan dɛ gǫ́y ná, nɛ wí-ré gan nɛ+á kpa ri mɔ́ nɔ kínɛɛ nɛ dɔ́k+á ná, gó Gbagbasǫ nɛ+á hųsi ri mɔ́ nɔ ɛn-́tę-ę́ ín bém kę́ ę́ nɛ kó kę́ ę́. 64. gó wan to á to+á fire gó nɛ+à á nu gą́ ą́ yǫŋ+á só kó hę́ gbɛ́ ą go nɛ́ ną ą nɔ ri gó wan to dų́ŋ sara-́te mɛ go zɔ́k fara ką́ ą gó nɛ+á go ʔbúrí ri+i á zǫ́ só kó kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, ri ɔ́ dɔ́ka dɔ́ka go wí-ré nɔ́.

65. ŋgom gám roá nɛ kóŋgó tɛ+m zéé nɛ́ to kɔ́ yám-Ramona.

(Gbagbasɔ̨) chased the dogs away and took it and ate it.

32. As a result, Gbagbasɔ̨'s throat got choked up and dry. 33. He was dying of thirst because he had been long at eating the paste which Wanto had broken off and thrown down, and he hadn't had any water to drink. 34. So he arose without saying a word. 35. He took his mat and put it up, and he took his bag and hung it over his shoulder. 36. He arose and made as if to go to Laagata (a village a little over a mile from where the story was being told) over there. 37. He pretended to go there so as to turn aside to come for this water. 38. So he went and he went and stood there, then he came back ever so quietly. 39. He came and took off the lids of the six large pots in which he had gathered the water and had hidden. 40. They were right by his village. 41. So he drank a long time. 42. So he returned to the path and went around, and went as he had come. 43. Then he came back to the foot of his gɔla tree.

44. But Wanto was still in the tree, and he saw where the water was which Gbagbasɔ̨ went for and went and drank. 45. And as Gbagbasɔ̨ was returning, Wanto descended and went off to the side, and went back to where Gbagbasɔ̨ had been so as to break the water pots and throw the water in the bush. 46. And when Gbagbasɔ̨ came back and sat down, Wanto took his what-you-call-it, his pestle, and he went and he went and struck the large pots with all their water smack! hit them smack! and the water flowed on the ground and went swiftly on.

47. Gbagbasɔ̨ saw this. 48. Wanto had busted the water and spilled it, and now it was flowing away. 49. So Gbagbasɔ̨ arose and ran, and he leaned over and put his arms out in the direction of the water. 50. He said, "I'll put out my arms in the direction of the water so the water won't flow away." 51. So the water divided and flowed to each side, leaving Gbagbasɔ̨ right in the middle. 52. The water flowed on each side of him. 53. Then Gbagbasɔ̨ rose and ran off, saying, "I'll go and stoop down there, so that the water will not run off but remain in front of me." 54. When he had run, and stooped down, the water divided and flowed away on each side, leaving Gbagbasɔ̨ in the middle. 55. That's how it was, and Gbagbasɔ̨ said, "I don't know what to do. 56. Wanto has busted the water and thrown it away. 57. He's ruined everything. 58. And I can't do anything to stop its flow." 59. And the water continued to flow on.

60. So now there are large rivers. 61. And the islands in the Wáam are the places where Gbagbasɔ̨ leaned down to stop the water from flowing, and the water divided and flowed on each side. 62. That's why there are islands in the Wáam. 63. And if Wanto had not done this, people would not have obtained a lot of water to drink now, for Gbagbasɔ̨ had gone and hidden the water so that he could drink alone, as well as his wife and his children. 64. But Wanto made paste, and went and dropped it so that Gbagbasɔ̨ ate it, after which he was thirsty, and he went and drank water, and Wanto was sitting in the tree and saw where he went, so he went and let out the water, so that now there is a lot of water, and people drink it.

65. (Untranslateable formula), so now I'd like to hear the story of Ramona's father.

12. Spider Brings Some News

1. ó saʔde, wa gi+ó dǫ́ wen-́zee mbé wen. 2. ndɛ wa tǫ́ ye ge, . . . dǫ́ nɔ́ɔ ndo ro ri+ɓ gɔ́ɔ, wen-́zee nɛ mbé wen. 3. ndɛ wa gí rų́mɔ́ dǫ́. 4. nɛ ŋma ó sɔ́k+á+i kó wa sɔ́n tɛ+á, ndɛ wa yá ką́+a. 5. nɛ gan wa kpá ŋma mbé wen wen-tǫ́+á kpém ná. 6. ndɛ wa tǫ́ ye ge, o a tɛ́ tǫ ŋma mbé wen sɛ́ to ro nɔ́ dǫ́+i o ndé. 7. nɛ gan wa kpá ŋma mbé wen kpém ná.

8. nɛ wan to a zɔ́k, foo ką́ ą tomb+à hą́ ą, gá ye ge, wan to, mɛ ʔdɔ́y kǫ nɛ́ nɛ́ hó ró wen-́gųn nɛ́ gɔrɔ. 9. nɛ wan to a ʔdɔy+á kǫ, gą́ ą́ hɛ̨r+á, a+á kǫ-yéré, ʔdɔy+à sɛ́rá, gą́ ą́ a+á kǫ-yéré, ną ą nɛ́ nɛ́. 10. nɛ bą́ ą́ nɛ nɛ ką́-tɛ, nɛ ó wí-ré sɔ́n nɛ mǫy+á wen-́nɔ dǫ́ nɔ́ɔ+i, wa mǫy+á, go wa yóó ką́-dǫ́+i, ndɛ wa zɔ́k+aa, ndɛ wa tǫ́ ye, wan to, mɛ nɛ́ íye ndé.

11. ną ą tǫ́+y ɔɔ, foo kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ ná ndé á ye ge, gan ro kpá kǫ wen-́gųn nɛ́ gɔrɔ ná, go ɛ̨́ wan to, ɛ̨ɛ (< a + ɛ̨) zą́ kǫ sɛn-́tɛ-ré kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ mɛ ʔdɔ́y kǫ há ré kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ mɛ, ɛ̨ nɛ́ nɛ́ sɛ́ tɛ ro gų́n nɛ́ gɔrɔ, go ɛ̨ sáá sék ząa. 12. nɛ ɛ̨ɛ́ nɛ foo kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ dɛ+à ín ɛ̨́ gɔ́ɔ, gan ɛ̨ į́ŋ ʔdoŋ-wár+aa kpém ná. 13. gán ɛ̨ɛ̀ nɔ́ɔ ɔ́ nɛ mbé wen a ndɛ́ wá tǫ́+á wéndé nɛ̨ ɛ̨ į́ŋ ná.

14. nɛ wí-ré bó zee gǫ́y sɔ́n, ndɛ wa dɛ́ saa. 15. ndɛ wa tǫ́ ye ge, ɔ́ɔ, wan to, óró kpa+à mbé wen. 16. wan to tǫ+à mbé wen sɔ́ɔ. 17. go ro nɔ́ dǫ́+i. 18. nɛ dǫ́-kiʔdi mbé wen wen-tǫ́+á+a, óró gi+ó. 19. gó ɛn-́tɛ-ą́ wen sɔ́n á yą́ kó ró tǫ́, nɛ gan kpá ŋma mbé wen wen-tǫ́+á ná. 20. gó wan to á tǫ+à mbé wen. 21. go . . . sɔ́ɔ́ kín+ɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, oro nɔ́ dǫ́+i. 22. nɛ bó wá kɛ̨ dǫ́+i, go bó wá nɔ sɔ́n, ndɛ wa dɛ́ saa oró+a dɔ́ka wen kó mbé wen ndɛ wa kpa+á.

12. Spider Brings Some News

1. (Some) animals (once) brewed beer to hear something new. 2. They said, "This beer we've brewed is to hear something new." 3. So they brewed a lot of beer. 4. And a lot of their elders came and sat down beside it. 5. But they didn't find one new thing to say. 6. And they said, "Who can come and say something new so that we can drink this beer?" 7. And they didn't find one new thing.

8. And Wanto (that is, Spider) saw (perhaps just a false start). Wanto's in-laws sent word to him, saying, "Wanto, dig a hole and send it to us to plant yams in it." 9. So Wanto dug the hole, tied it up, put it in a yéré basket, dug an ant-hill, put it in the basket and went with it. 10. And as he came alongside the beer, the people (that is, the animals of line 1) who had gathered to drink the beer and were gathered alongside the beer saw him, and they said to him, "Wanto, where are you going?"

11. He said, "Aw, my in-laws said that they didn't have a hole in which to plant yams, so I've dug a hole at my village, and I'm taking it so they can plant yams, and I just can't figure it out. 12. What my in-laws have done with me, I just can't figure it out. 13. Whether or not this is something new for them to talk about, I don't know."

14. When the people heard all this, they were pleased. 15. They said, "Fine! Wanto, we've found something new. 16. Wanto has said something new today. 17. Let's drink the beer. 18. We've brewed beer with which to look for something new to talk about. 19. We brewed it, but our brothers talked just about old things and we didn't find something new to talk about. 20. But Wanto has said something new. 21. So right now let's drink the beer." 22. And when they divided the beer and had drunk it all, they had a lot of fun because of the new thing they had found.

VOCABULARIES

INTRODUCTION

Two sets of vocabularies are contained in this chapter, one from Gbɛya to English and the other from English to Gbɛya. (In both cases the English definitions and translations are my own, based on context or explanations of informants.) The purpose of the first vocabulary is to provide the serious reader of this grammar with the means of making his own literal translations of the examples and texts. It should serve this purpose fairly well, for it is based primarily on the texts which served as a principal part of the corpus for this grammatical description. No claim is made, however, for complete coverage. Intentionally omitted from this vocabulary are the French words that occurred in the corpus and also the interjections.

Most of the affixes are also included in the Gbɛya-English vocabulary. Those left out are the ones where part of the suffix is determined by what precedes (such as -um in dų́ŋum 'sit I') and, naturally, the relational morpheme { ˊ }.

The English-Gbɛya vocabulary is the reverse of the first one, and is in an abbreviated form. It is more like a lexical index, sending the reader back to the Gbɛya-English section for more information.

Wherever possible, I have given the scientific names of flora and fauna, but being less than an amateur botanist and zoologist, I have used two reference works to the best of my ability. They are the following:

Pierre Bourgoin, Animaux de Chasse d'Afrique. Paris: La Toison d'Or, 1955. Pp. 255.

Ch. Tisserant, Catalogue de la Flore de l'Oubangui-Chari (Mémoire de l'Institut d'Études Centrafricaines, Numéro 2). Toulouse: P. Julia, 1950. Pp. 166.

In alphabetizing the entries, I have followed the traditional roman order, with the following modifications:

1. Long vowels are treated as two letters: thus, ee follows ed.
2. Nasalized vowels follow the oral vowels of the same quality: thus, ą follows a. No separate headings are given ɛ and ɔ. They are to be found under e and o respectively.
3. The nonroman symbols for vowels follow the roman ones: so ɛ follows e, ɔ follows o.
4. Entries of more than one word are alphabetized as if they were long unit-words: gbati precedes gba túrú.
5. The unusual consonants come in the following order: b, ʔb, d, ʔd, g, gb, k, kp, m, mb, ʔm, n, nd, ʔn, ŋ, ŋg, ŋm, ŋmgb, v, v̂ (with v).

6. Traditional letters have priority over tone, and in the case of identical sequences of letters, low tone precedes high tone: so gu-ó precedes gúdam.
7. Verbs entered with the perfective suffix (gu-ó, etc.) are alphabetized as if nothing followed the hyphen.

Other conventions are also adopted:

1. Question marks indicate doubt concerning an entry.
2. No distinction is made between the transitive and intransitive use of a verb. The reason for this is that Gbɛya verbs seem to be ambivalent with respect to the taking of an object or not, and the whole list of verbs was not tested for their behavior.
3. Tonally differentiated forms are not entered. Thus, whereas the connective go occurs both as go and gó, only go is given.
4. While some verbs are glossed with 'to become something or other' and others 'to be . . .,' it is very likely that both glosses are appropriate for all of the verbs in question.
5. Both the bound and the free forms of certain nouns are given: thus, pɛ́ɛ́ and pɛ́r- 'rope.' Where the word is used in a construction, however, the free form is usually cited.
6. Verbs are entered both in their imperfective and perfective forms. If, in the former case, they end in the suffix -i, the proper form of the perfective suffix is put within parentheses: thus, pesi(á). If they do not have this suffix, but have the form with a long vowel, the long vowelled form is entered with a reference to the bound form: thus, pee (v.) See per-á. Under the perfective form one also finds the free imperfective form. Where the perfective form has no hyphen, as is true in a few cases, one is to understand that for this verb there is no form with a long vowel; that is, a form with final -Vy occurs instead. Except for the perfective suffix and except for verbs occurring in sentence-like constructions, verbs are cited in their low tone forms.
7. No forms resulting from phonological conditioning are entered: thus, ak-á 'to ask,' but not aŋ which occurs preceding a nasal consonant. One must therefore familiarize himself with the morphophonemic changes described in 130.
8. As in the rest of the grammar, numerical references are given to the appropriate sections where more information about a form is available.

The following abbreviations and symbols have been used:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aux.	auxiliary
conn.	connective
ctn.	certain
dem.	demonstrative
desc., descr.	descriptive (in connection with descriptive adverbs)

det.	determinant
f.p.	final particle
n.	noun
obj.	object
P (1P, 2P, 3P)	first, second, and third persons plural
perf.	perfective
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
QV	quotative verb
S (1S, 2S, 3S)	first, second, and third persons singular
sg.	singular
subj.	subject
subst.	substitute
suf.	suffix

GBEYA-ENGLISH

A

-a ~ -áa ~ -aa ~ -ára ~ -ra (det.) See 213.1
a ~ á (conn.) See 332.1
á (conn.) See conn. a
á (conn.) See 331.1
á mɛ́ nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná don't go and stand over them
-á ~ -ó ~ -ɔ́ ~ -ú (perf. suffix) See 211.2
a-á (v.) to throw, put (of pl. obj.)
a nu to throw on the ground, to throw down
a tɛ to put on oneself (of clothes)
fire-́nu á ríffím dust got into my eyes
a fɔ to go to gardens (speaking of many people)
a kɔ́ɔ́-ŋmaà ín wa to join up with them
-aa (det.) See -a
-aa (3S pron. suf.) See 282
aáyɛ (n.?) over there, what's-his-name
ɛ́rɛ́ kayà kɛ́ rɛ́ aáyɛ we got ours over there
bém kó aáyɛ nɔ́ɔ the child of what's-his-name
-áa (det.) See -a
-áa (3S pron. suf.) See 282
ak-á (v.) to ask
ak mɛ́ to ask you
ak mɔ wenáa to ask about it
am (pron.) I
am-á (v.) to suck at breast, nurse
andáa < Sango (conn.) but it turns out that
-ára (det.) See -a
arɛ (pron.) See ɛrɛ
ay-á (v.) to fall (of leaves, light rain, breasts of woman)
ay oro to come or run after someone who has departed
ríffí nɛ́ ay oro-rɛ́ your eyes will long for us
ą (pron.) he, she
ą ~ ɛ̨ (stative) See 351
ą́ (adj.) old
ą́ mɔ kó tí things of long ago
ą́ naa-́duwa the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock
ąk-á (v.) to tear, to tear off
ąy-á (v.) to rip off

ąy pɛ́ɛ́	to rip off bark for making cord

B

ba-á (v.)	to take, seize, receive (sg. obj.)
ba te	(of person) to climb a tree, (of bird) to alight on a tree
ba wéey (~ kóo)	to get married
ba ʔdoŋ-wáa	to get back on the path, to set off on a trip
ba gaza	to assume the rights of a person initiated into the circumcision rites
wa bá yarí-zą yįnáa	they go on a walk to dig up the medicine
bó wá ba dɔ̨́ɔ̨́ nɛ́ zu-mɛ́	when they keep beer from you
báa (f.p.)	
bą́ ą́ sa rɛ́, nɛ ndɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ nɛ́ ŋgay-́tɛ-rɛ́ báa	if he should call us (to go eat), should we force ourselves to go!
bágara < Sango (n.)	cow, bovine animal
bana (n.)	?
bana-́gaza	one who has already been initiated in the circumcision rites and holds certain privileges
bą́	See bo
bé- (combining form for béem)	young, small
bé-kóo	girl, daughter
bé-ri	creek, small stream
béa	the child, the small one
bee (v.)	See ber-á
béem (n.)	child. Compare bé-
bek-á (v.)	to belch
bém (n.)	child
bém kɔ́m	my child
béndé	See wéndé
ber-á ~ bee (v.)	to burn (of fire)
bere (n.)	breast
bere-́ą	her breast
ri-́bere	milk
bere (adv.)	right away, in a hurry, quickly
ɛrɛ nɛ́ bɔnɔ-́wa bere	let's go after them right away
bɛ́	See bo
bɛrá (bɛra?) (n.)	cleared portion of land, expansive place
bɛrá-go	open stony clearing
bɛrá-fɔ	cleared garden plot
bɛrá-oro-́tuwa	deserted house-site (where the house is in ruins)
bɛrɛ (n.)	dry season
bɛrɛ dɛá	it's (now) dry season
bɛ̨-á (v.)	to refuse, reject
bɛ̨́	See bo
bi-ó (v.)	to fight
bi biro	to wage a war, to fight

bii (v.)   See bir-ó
bir-ó ~ bii (v.)   to bend, to carry (a child on one's back)
biro (n.)   fight, war
  bi biro   to wage a war
  nɛ biro   to go to war
biro (n.)   a certain small antelope
bisa (n.)   young man; adornment, ornament
  mɛ́ dɛá bisa   you've become a young man
  dɛ bisa   to get all dressed up (of a young man). Compare zɔ́ŋá
  mɔ-́dɛ bisa   adornment, ornament
bíyá (n.)   ctn. large edible rodent hunted in the bush during the dry season
bo-á ~ bą́ ~ bɛ́ ~ bę́ (aux. v.)   when, as, if, should. See 394.31
bó (v.)   neg. of ɔ, to not be
  kam gan bó ná   there's no food
  gan nɛ́m pį nu bó ná   I won't throw it down by any means
bom-á (v.)   to become blind
bóom (n.)   blindness
  wí-bóom   blind person
boro (n.)   iron
  boro-́biro   weapons
bɔlɔ ~ bɔnɔ (n.)   back, behind, after
  bɔlɔ-náŋ-saʔde   animal tracks
  wa yú nɛ́ bɔlɔ-rɛ́   they run after us
  tɛ-́bɔlɔ-́wa   in their absence
  kuu bɔlɔ́ai   after that
  wa há mbɔy bɔlɔ-kóo   they are paying the bride-price for a girl
  wa ndóy mbɔyáa sí-ʔday há bɔlɔ́a   they take back all the money paid for her
bɔɔ ~ bɔʔɔ (n.)   foolishness, stupidity
  ą́ dɛà rɛ́ nɛ́ bɔɔ   he made a fool of us
  wi tɔ̨́ bɔɔ gáa   you're talking foolishness like this
  wí-bɔɔ   stupid person
bɔɔ (intensifier, perhaps the same word as the preceding)
  wa yɔ̨́ŋ bɔɔ-́mɔ   they eat the thing
bú (adj.)   white
  bú duwa   white goat
búk (n.)   wind
  búk yú   the wind is blowing
búú (n.)   ?
  búú-wey   ashes
bųri(ɔ́) (v.)   to fly

ʔB

ʔba-á (v.)   to cut off (section of bark, leaving the tree trunk)
ʔbaa   See ʔbay
ʔbaa (v.)   See ʔbar-á

ʔbaka (n.) shoulder, forelegs (of animal), wing (of bird)
zu-́bakám my shoulder
ʔbar-á ~ ʔbaa (v.) to shed, peel off
fara ʔbaa to become day
ʔbárá fara dawn
ʔbárá gɔ́k snakeskin
ʔbaa rí́p to make a person able to see
ʔbay ~ ʔbaa (adj.) only, just. See 361.1
ʔbay yo kpém just the hide
ʔbéé (adv.) a long time ago; used also to intensify the idea of completion
ą́ hɔ̀à ʔbéé he had already appeared
ʔbέʔbέ (n.) ctn. indigenous cotton the seed of which is very small
ʔbεεkεrε (adv.) desc. of rumbling of one's stomach
ʔbέt (adv.) ?
ba ʔbέt to take something from a person in a single, quick motion
ʔbii (v.) See ʔbir-ó
ʔbir-ó ~ ʔbii (v.) to break off (piece of food), to fall off or be eaten away (of fingers of a leper)
ʔbiya (n.) friend, comrade, buddy; the other (of two things)
ʔbiya-́ą his friend
ʔbo-á (v.) to make a circle of something
ʔboŋ (adv.) desc. of gun going off
ʔboo (v.) See ʔbor-á
ʔbor-á ~ ʔboo (v.) to butcher an animal, including skinning it
ʔboy (n.) hat, cap
ʔbɔ (adv.) still, again, also
ín bé-zorói ʔbɔ and the small fish too
wen-́ba mbéa ʔbɔ to take it again
εrε yá nε wí-ré ʔbɔ wéndé are we still human beings?
ą gám tę-ę́ ʔbɔ he also turned around
ʔbú (subst.) ten
ʔbuk-ó (v.) to hang something (over one's shoulder)
ʔburi(ó) (v.) to break into many pieces, shatter
ʔburí (n.) ctn. reed

D

daʔdoŋ (n.) skirt of cotton strings worn by women over anus
dak-á (v.) to extract
dak tí to lead, to go on ahead of others
dak kéey há zaŋ-́wa to take fear out of them
dal (n.) ctn. upright drum
dam-á (v.) to be adequate (that is, to arrive at a given quantity, measure)
mɔ-́damía thing necessary to do a task
dan (n.) ctn. spirit
bé-dan twins
daná ~ dandá (n.) bag (originally of leather)

dandá (n.) See daná

daŋ-á (v.) to climb, climb on, ascend; to copulate (of animals)

dawa (n.) green monkey (Cercopithecus sp.)

day-á (v.) to raise (animals)

mɔ-́day domesticated animal

da̧ (n.) anger

da̧ dɛ́ a̧ he is angry

zaŋ-mɛ́ bó dɛ da̧ when you are angry

da̧-á (v.) to curse (someone)

da̧y (n.) wound, sore

da̧y-́gaza wound left by circumcision

dé (adj.) good

dé kóo a good woman

déʔdé (adj.) good

dɛ-á (v.) to do, make; very much used in idiomatic expressions

dɛ parába to make, have trouble

dɛ pɛ to do something, be somewhere for a year

dɛ ŋgay to treat someone meanly, to intimidate, to act ferociously

dɛ saa to play, have fun, rejoice

dɛ mɔ to work, to go . . . (in imitation of a noise)

mɔ-́dɛi work

dɛla (n.) metal anklets

ba dɛla kú-wa to put anklets on their legs

dɛm-á (v.) to be numerous (of people)

ó dɛ́má wí-ré a large crowd of people

dɛ́nɛ (n.) ctn. wasp

dɛ̧ɛ (v.) See dɛ̧r-á

dɛ̧r-á ~ dɛ̧ɛ (v.) to be numerous

dik-ó (v.) to make a loud noise

kóro dík there's thunder

díkó kóro thunder

dila (n.) lion

di̧i (v.) See di̧r-ɔ́

dí̧i (subst.) there

ɛrɛ ɔ́ dí̧i we slept there

di̧r-ɔ́ ~ di̧i (v.) to be heavy

dí̧rɔ See gba dí̧rɔ

di̧ti(ɔ́) (v.) to be heavy

dí̧yɛ (subst.) here

do-á (v.) to flower

dóá te flower

dom (n.) penis

doo (v.) See dor-á

dor-á ~ doo (v.) to keep someone from getting something

doo dɔ̧ɔ́ há éé-ŋmaá to keep beer from each other

dɔ-á (v.) to set fire to, burn, shine, roast; refuse to give something to someone wesé dɔám the sun roasted me

dɔ ną́ká to be stingy

gbai dɔà rɛ́ even if you should not give us (food)

dɔk-á (v.) to be much, many

wá dɔká they were numerous

dɔ́ká fɔ large garden

wí-ré tɛá ɔ dɔ́k if there were a lot of people

dɔ́ka (subst.) much, many, very

bɔlɔ-náŋ-wa ɔ́ dɔ́ka there were many of their tracks

dɔm-á (v.) to blow on an instrument

dɔ́ma (n.) ctn. tree, rope made from the bark of this tree

dɔ̨́ (adj.) short

dɔ̨́ wí-ré short person

wí-dɔ̨́ɔ short person

dǫn-á (v.) to throw down

dǫ́ (n.) beer

wesé-dǫ́ beer-drinking day

gi dǫ́ to brew; prepare beer

dǫ́-kɔfɛ marriage beer (part of the marriage obligation)

dɔ̨́ɔ́ (n.?) near, soon

heʔdi dɔ̨́ɔ́ to get near, approach

kóro gan ŋmą́y dɔ̨́ɔ́ ná the rain didn't stop soon

dɔ̨́ɔ́tí (perhaps dɔ̨́ɔ́-tí) (n.) forehead

duk (n.) mortar

bé-duk pestle

dur-ó ~ duu (v.) to be long (in measure)

nɛ dúróa lengthwise

duu (v.) See dur-ó

duwa (n.) goat

kó-duwa female witch

ą́ naa-́duwa the female goat which bore the rest of one's flock

dųm-ɔ́ (v.) to spear, pierce, stick, stab

dųŋ-ɔ́ (v.) to sit; as aux., to continue to, keep on doing something, to begin to do something. See 394.3

dų́ŋaa rį́k dɛ́nɛ he kept on hitting the wasps

dų́ŋ wá yǫŋ mɔ while they're eating

ʔD

ʔdafi(á) (v.) to fix, prepare, adjust

ʔday (n.?) completely, far away (occurring only with sí)

wa yɔ̨́ŋ say kɔ́m sí-ʔday they eat all of my pumpkins

ʔdɛ́ (adv.) very, much, hard

ą á yui ʔdɛ́ he really runs fast

ó wí-ré nɛ́ yorà ʔdɛ́ if there are a lot of people

ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k (adv.) different (things)

- ʔdoŋ (n.) back, behind, later, inside of bark
  - pee ʔdoŋ to return
  - sí-ʔdoŋ See sí-ʔday
  - kǫ ʔdoŋáa to want it, agree to it
  - kǫ ʔdoŋ-́si ʔdoŋ to want to return
  - ʔdoŋ-́ri river bank
  - ʔdoŋ-wáá path, road
  - nɛ́m tɛ ʔdoŋ I'll come later
  - bá ą sí nɛ́ ʔdoŋ take him back
  - ʔdoŋ kpém six
  - ʔdoŋ rííto seven
- ʔdóŋ ʔdóŋ (adv.) very dark, black
  - fara tųɔ̀ ʔdóŋ ʔdóŋ it has become pitch black
- ʔdɔɔ (v.) See ʔdɔr-
- ʔdɔr- ~ ʔdɔɔ (n.) under, underneath, in
  - ą̂ nɛá ʔdɔɔ-zǫ̂ he went into the bush
  - ɛrɛ nɛ́ ʔdɔɔ-kóro we walked in the rain
- ʔdɔy-á (v.) to make a hole, drill
- ʔdu-ó (v.) to dip up, draw (a liquid)
- ʔdűu (n.) bridge

E

- e-á (v.) to place, put, leave (sg. obj.); let
  - e nu to put down
  - ą bá duwa go é sɛnɛ́ he takes a goat and puts it there (that is, adds to what has already been given)
  - wá eá ą kǫ-́tuwa they left him in the house
  - é há wí-ré tɛ́ sɛ́ let people come first
- éé (n.) see ér-
- ér- ~ éé (n.) hand, finger, paw
  - ą rɛ́m kpa mɔ tɛ-́kǫ-éé-wí-ré he can get things from people
- -ɛ ~ -yɛ (dem.) See 213.22
- ɛk-á (v.) to lean, lean against
  - bá wey nɛ ɛ́k sɛn-tɛ-́ŋma bé-te takes the gun and leans it against a small tree
  - am ɛ́k tɛm ínaa I depend on him
- ɛn (n.?) only, alone
  - ɛn-tɛ-́ą only him, by himself
- ɛrɛ ~ arɛ ~ rɛ ~ ɔ (prn.) we
- ę (sg. explicit prn.) See 382.12
- ęɛ́ (subst.) this. See 382.2

F

- fan-á (v.) to weave
- fara (n.) place

fara są to become day
fara ɔ́ mbiri mbiri it's somewhat dark (speaking of the passing of day)
kpa ą fara-́nɛ kɔfɛ to catch him when he's going to (his) in-laws
ɔ́ nɛ́ fara-́dɛ mɔ it's time to work
nɛ sɛn-tɛ-́fara ną ą ɔ́ sɛnɛ́i to go to the place where he is
gą́á fara evening
fe-á (v.) to die
féé (adv.) desc. of the noise of a whistle
fey (n.) death
fey-́zɛmbɛ́i gbɛà wí-réi the zɛmbɛ́ death killed the person
zu-́fey grave-site
fɛŋ-á (v.) to be white
fę́ę́ (n.) See ką́fę́
fęra (n.) whistle
dɔm fęra to blow a whistle
fire (n.) paste (as of sesame, peanuts)
yufi fire to make a paste
fire-́nu dust
fiyo (n.) general term for the spirits which control the fortunes of men, also the magical paraphernalia used in placating or controlling them; therefore closely associated with medicinal preparations although there is medicine (yįna) that is nonmagical; loosely translated in this grammar as fetish
dɛ fiyo to make, use, set up a fetish
wan fiyo one who owns the rights to a certain fetish
wí-fiyo a practitioner of a fetish, whose rights are obtained from the wan
fį́į́ (adv.) little, few
dųŋ oróai fį́į́ to stay in the same place for a little while$_1$
fo-á (v.) to sweep, push, chase
fok-á (v.) to flow, to wash something away
fón (n.) ctn. grain sorghum
foo (n.) in-laws (possibly synonymous with kɔfɛ)
foyo (n.) shame
am dɛ́ foyo ríp-mɛ́ I am ashamed in your presence
e foyo ríp-mɛ́ to make you embarrassed
mɔ-́foyo shameful parts of the body (sex organs)
fɔ (n.) garden, farm
fɔɔ (v.) See fɔr-á
fɔr-á ~ fɔɔ (v.) to wash (one's body, clothes, etc.)
fɔɔ gaza to wash ritually after circumcision rites
fɔrɛ (n.) lime (used in whitewashing)
fɔrɔ (n.) elephant
gu fɔrɔ to squat down
fu ~ fuufuu (adv.) desc. of sound of many people singing
fųr-ɔ́ ~ fųu (v.) to sew pieces of cloth together
fųu (v.) See fúr-ɔ́

G

gá See oro . . . gá and 332.5
gá (QV) See gende gá ye ge
gáa (adv.) like this, in this manner
bóm kąsi gáa as I was holding on like this
gaʔdaʔda (adv.) desc. of opening up
zɛra-́fɔrɔ dɛ́ gaʔdaʔda the elephant's ears went . . .
gagiʔda (n.) ctn. kind of large mat
gale (n.) left
wáá-gale left side
éé-gale left hand
ba gale to be left-handed
gam-á (v.) to turn completely around
gám tɛ-mɛ́ Turn around! (command to one person)
gam guram (n.) whirlwind, dust devil; the spirit responsible for them; particularly associated with grass-burning hunts because of the whirlwinds produced by the air currents; believed capable of confusing the animals, chasing them in certain directions, tying them together by their horns, etc.; success at hunting is attributed to an effective whirlwind; control over the whirlwind is effected by certain rites (for example, the whirlwind is magically prepared in the kernel of the kóʔbo fruit and let loose by smashing it against a tree)
gan (~ gɛn ~ gąa) . . . ná (adv.) negative marker. See 371
gan wa tɛ́ ná they aren't coming
gan-á (v.) to surpass; used to indicate a kind of superlative or comparative
ŋma mɔ gan ɔ́ ŋgay gán Nzapá ná there is nothing too hard for God
rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́ gán, goi bá mᵇunzù nɔ́ɔ it would be better if you would take this white man
wa gbɛ́ rɛ́ gán zúa they kill too many of us
gán (conn.) See wéndé . . . gan
gara (n.) space in front of house
gata (n.) ctn. drum
gay-á (v.) to make much noise, scare by making a noise
gay mɔ ʔdɔɔ-́mɔ to make a lot of noise among the things (in the garden)
gaza (n.) circumcision; covers a complex of concepts relating to circumcision and the rites that accompany it
kútu-́gaza hut used during circumcision rites
ba gaza assume the rights of those initiated
nɛ gaza to be initiated by circumcision
gɔn wa nɛ́ gaza to circumcise them
gą (conn.) See go
gą-á (v.) to be cool, to cool off
bą́ ą́ gąá when it (the elephant) became still (after being shot)
gą́á fara evening
gąa (adv.) See gan . . . ná
gą́sá (adj.) large, big

ge (QV) See gende gá ye ge
ge (subst.) what? See 382.3
ge wí-ge a tɛ́ nɛ́ ge ndé who is bringing it?
ge wen-́ge a mɛ tɔ̨́ ge ndé what are you talking about?
wen-́ge a mɛ dɛ́ gɔ̨́y wenáa ge ndé why are you doing it like that?
dɛà ré ge what happened?
geʔda (n.) manioc
geʔde (n.) buttocks
kų geʔdéa the beginning
nú-geʔde anus
ą sí ʔdoŋ nɛ́ geʔde-́ą he backed up
geʔde-́dɔ̨́ beer dregs
geegezí (n.) See kuʔbú
gende gá (QV) See gende gá ye ge
gende gáy (QV) See gende gá ye ge
gende gá ye ge (QV) See 353
gére (adv.) without anything, for no purpose, freely (this word has an extremely wide range of meaning)
am ɔ́ gére I'm fine
mɔ-gére worthless thing
gɔm gúwá nɛ gére-́fara to cut firewood in some place belonging to no one
yaa gére to roam around doing nothing
Nzapá rɛmà ín rɛ́ mbɛ́ rɛ́ nɛ gére God is enough for us to go without any trouble (that is, God is all we need for safety)
mɛ yáá gére wen há ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́ dɛ́ mɛ́ ná you live untouched by leprosy
gey (n.) pottery clay
gɛ (conn.) See go
gɛʔdɛ́k (adv.) still, quiet, slow
gɛ́ɛ́ (n.) See gɛ́r-
gɛk (adv.) slow, a little
ám įŋɔ́ gɛk I know a little
nɛ́ gɛk sɛ́ Go slowly!
gɛn (adv.) See gan . . . ná
gɛnɛ (n.) guest, stranger
gɛzɛ (n.) ctn. kind of a basket
gɛ́r- ~ gɛ́ɛ́ (n.) neck, throat, voice, sound
gɛ̨ (conn.) See go
gɛ̨́ (n.) happiness
dɛ gɛ̨́ to be happy, have fun
gɛ̨ɛ́ (n.) cold
gɛ̨ɛ̀ gbɛ́m I'm cold
gɛ̨rɛŋ (adv.) rapidly
hay gɛ̨rɛŋ to crawl along rapidly
gi-ɓ (v.) to cook, prepare
gi kam to prepare a meal
gida (n.) enemy

wí-gida enemy
gima (n.) song
sa gima to sing a song
gísó (n.) stump (of a tree)
gítí (n.) noise of feet
gį́rɔ (n.) shade, shadow
go ~ gą ~ gɛ ~ gɛ̨ (conn.) See 332.2
go (n.) stony area
gba go an extensive stony area with little vegetation, particularly of the laterite variety
gó (conn.) when. Compare bo
góm zerá when I heard
goʔdó (perhaps goʔdo) (n.) end
goʔdó-fiyo the explanation of the fetish
gogo (n.) molars
goro (n.) ?
zu-́goróm my knee
goy-á (v.) to like, love (especially demonstrated in giving gifts)
gɔʔbi(á) (v.) to be warped, to rock sidewise (as in a canoe)
gɔ́k (n.) snake
ʔbárá gɔ́k snakeskin
gɔla (n.) ctn. tree (Berlinia sp.)
gɔm-á (v.) to cut, cut out, run out
gɔm bé-kɔ̨rá to hatch chicks
gɔn-á (v.) to cut
gɔ́n (n.) top of, on
ą pį́ gɔ́n-kú-ą he puts (the gun) on his lap
gɔʔní (n.) foreign, different (?)
gɔ́ɔ (adv.) here
ɛrɛ tɛ́ gɔ́ɔ here we come
gɔrɔ (n.) yam
gɔy (n.) female skirt made of cotton strings and worn in front; in other dialects called kakó and gbɛlɛk
gɔ̨ (n.) leopard
gɔ̨rɔ (n.) bee
zį́-gɔ̨rɔ honeybee
nɔ́-gɔ̨rɔ honey
ri-́gɔ̨rɔ honey
gɔ̨́y (adv.) like this, well (very often only a meaningless pause filler), on and on, for a long time (especially when repeated or stressed and lengthened)
wa dɛ́ gɔ̨́y they do it like this
ɛrɛ ák Nzapá wenáa gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y we asked God about it for a long time
mɔ gɔ̨́y, ŋma yám kóm ɔ́ sɛnɛ́ well, I had an uncle
gu-ó (v.) to cover (something completely)
ɛrɛ gú zu-rɛ́ we covered our heads
gu ʔdɔɔ-́waka to hide in the cane-grass

gu fɔrɔ to squat

gúdam (perhaps gu + dam) (n.) a certain style of setting a woman's hair, in a series going from forehead to back of head

gun (n.) base (of tree), waist

ką́-gun-́wa the sides of their hips

gunduŋ (adv.) desc. of opening something previously unopened

ą gbó zu-́gɛzɛ-́sunu gunduŋ he breaks open the basket of sesame seed (which is covered with large leaves now entirely brittle)

guri(ó) (v.) to smoke (food over the fire)

guro (n.) rack, scaffold, or platform for smoking meat, keeping objects out of the way, etc.

gúwá (n.) firewood

gɔm gúwá to chop firewood

gųn-ɔ́ (v.) to plant, bury

GB

gba (adj.) big, real; even if. See 361.1

gba koy-́saʔde ʔmɔná even if the rest of the meat is left

gba dį́rɔ (n.) ctn. large rope

gba dɔ̨rɔ́ (n.) ctn. large antelope (*Damaliscus korrigum*), the meat is taboo to the newly circumcised

Gbagbasɔ̨ (that is, gba gba sɔ̨) (n.) ctn. character in the fable "The Origin of Rivers and Islands" (text 11); the word sɔ̨ means the spirit of a dead person

gbáŋ (adv.) also

gbaŋgala (adv.) desc. of a thunderous noise

ndɔɔ gbaŋgala to shoot with a very loud noise

gbati(á) (v.) to stop (walking)

gba túrú (n.) cloth made from the bark of the túrú tree

gbay-á (v.) to come out, appear (usually pl. of hɔ-á)

gbay záan to come outside

gbay dan to give birth to twins

gba zawa (n.) ctn. kind of ground-nut (*Voandzeia subterranea Thouars*.)

gbąa (n.) See gbąra

gbąra ~ gbąa (n.) bone, grain, kernel

gbąra-́wey bullet

gbąra-́saʔde animal bones

gbél (adv.) ?

he gbél to cry out loudly announcing the killing of an animal

gbɛ-á (v.) to kill

wɔ gbɛ́m I'm hungry

gbɛlɛk (n.) See gɔy

gbɛŋ-á (v.) to be hot (pepper, one's body)

tɛm gbɛ́ŋ ʔdɛ́ I'm very hot

gbɛ̨-á (v.) to be red, mature (of fruit) (one of the three major colors)

gbɛ̨́ mɔ a red thing

gbigbigbi (adv.) descr. of noise made by a large fire
gbii (adv.) descr. of the rumbling of thunder
gbíígbíí (adv.) descr. of the rumbling of thunder
gbim (adv.) descr. of the sound of many running feet
gbiro-́fɔ (gbiróf ɔ?) (n.) ctn. tree, perhaps the same as nɔɔ, whose fruit is edible
gbíya (n.) the area of grassland systematically burnt in the hunting of animals during the dry season
gbįn-ɔ́ (v.) to break, break out or through
gbo-á (v.) to arrive, reach a place
gboʔdi(á) (v.) ?
  gboʔdi sɛ́rɛ to hold a spear shaft preparatory to casting it in such a way that it quivers
gboŋgom (adv.) ?
  kpa ŋmaá gboŋgom to meet each other with a loud noise (as two waves of fire)
gbɔʔdi(á) (v.) to be tired
  ą́ gbɔʔdà sɔ́n he's all tired out
gbɔgbɔ (n.) middle
gbɔgbɔl (n.) ctn. tree found along small streams whose wide leaves are used by women in making skirts; its fruit ripens in the dry season
gbur-ó ~ gbuu (v.) to drag, pull
  am gbúraa tɛ-́tɛ́ɛ́m na I'm pulling him toward me
gbut (adv.) descr. of destruction of trees by elephants
  dų́ŋ wa zą́ mɔ gbut gbut they were digging up things
gbuu (v.) See gbur-ó

H

há$_1$ ~ hó (conn.) See 332.3
  sá yám-Sara há bá wey call Sara's father to get the gun
há$_2$ ~ hą́ ~ hɛ́ ~ hɛ̧́ ~ hó (conn.) See 342
  dak kéey há zaŋ-́wa to take fear out of them
  tɔ̧ há wa to tell them
há$_3$ (conn.) See a, 332.1
ha-á (v.) to give
haa (v.) See har-á
han-á (v.) to fry, roast in an open pan
har-á ~haa (v.) ?
  haa mbɔy nɛ kóo to pay the bride-price for a wife
  haa tą-́wen to give consideration to one's thoughts
hárá (adv.) absolutely all
  ɛrɛ ʔbóó saʔde hárá sɔ́n we completely skinned the animal
  ó wí-ré hárá sɔ́n absolutely all the people
hay-á (v.) to crawl, creep
  wa háy ką́-zaŋ-́tuwa they creep up beside the house
hą́ (conn.) See há$_1$, há$_2$

he-á (v.) to cry, utter; apparently synonomous with hey
heʔdi(á) (v.) to approach, arrive near
  bɛ́ rɛ́ heʔdi dɔ̨́ɔ́ tɛ-nú-Wáam na as we approached the bank of the Waam here
hee (v.) See hey
hey-á ~ hee (v.) to cry, make a noise
  hey kɔ̨wá to cry with tears
hɛ-á (v.) to buy, (formerly) to barter
hɛ́ (conn.) See há$_1$, há$_2$
hɛr (adv.) ?
  yu hɛr to run to cut off a fleeing animal
hɛ̨́ (conn.) See há$_1$, há$_2$
hɛ̨ɛ (v.) See hɛ̨r-á
hɛ̨́ɛ́ (n.) thirst
  hɛ̨́ɛ́-ri gbɛ́ ą he's thirsty
hɛ̨r-á ~ hɛ̨ɛ (v.) to tie up (with cords)
hii (v.) See hir-ó
hir-ó ~ hii (v.) to stoop down, lower one's body
hir (adv.) descr. of a lion's roar
hįk-ɔ́ (v.) to circle around, make a detour
hįŋ-ɔ́ (v.) syn. hįk-ɔ́
hó (conn.) See há$_1$, há$_2$
hóv̂ó hóv̂ó (adv.) completely off
  ą́ ʔbarà kɔk-́geʔda sí-ʔday hóv̂ó hóv̂ó she peeled the manioc skin right off
  pį hóv̂ó hóv̂ó to throw swiftly
hɔ-á (v.) to appear, come out, flow; when hɔ is used of sg. subj., gbay-á is used of pl.
  hɔ tuwa to come of a house
hɔfi(á) (v.) to slip something off
hɔ̨k-á (v.) to rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (knife)
hɔ̨ŋ-á (v.) to rub, crush; perhaps the same as hɔ̨k-á
hufi(ó) (v.) to have loose bowels, diarrhea
husi(ó) ~ hųsi(ɔ́) (v.) to hide
  husi tɛ to hide oneself
hųri(ɔ́) (v.) to spread abroad
  zee hųría to hear a person's fame
hųsi(ɔ́) (v.) See husi(ó)

I

-i$_1$ (imperfective suf.) See 211.1
-i$_2$ (emphatic suf.) See 211.3
-i$_3$ (nominalizing suf.) See 211.4
-i$_4$ (locative suf.) See 213.21
-i$_5$ (postclitic) See 220
-i (prn.) 2P. See 282

ii (v.) See ir-ó

ɪ́n ~ ɪ́ni- ~ ɪ́nd- (conn.) with, to. See 343

wá dɛà ʔnáŋ mɔ ɪ́n rɛ́ they did an evil thing to us

ɪ́ni- (conn.) See ɪ́n

ɪ́nd- (conn.) See ɪ́n

ɪ́ni (n.) urine

sɔ̨ ɪ́ni to urinate

ir-ó ~ ii (v.) to push something to make it move

ɪ́ŋáá (conn.?) in order to

ɪ́ye (subst.) where?

tɛ́ rɛ́ kpa wɪ́-ré ɪ́ye ndé where can we possibly find someone?

ɪ́yɛ (subst.) over there. See 382.5

hɔà ɪ́yɛ gáa (the tusks) appeared there like this

ɪ́yɛ . . . ɪ́yɛ here and there

ɪ́yo (n.) bark (of tree)

ɪ̨ɪ́ (subst.) that, those. See 382.2

ɪ̨ŋ-ɔ́ (v.) to know

ɪ̨ŋ ʔdoŋ-wáá wen-́dɛ gɔ̨́y to know how to do it this way

ɪ̨ŋ wen kó wa to know about them

ɪ̨rɪ́rɪ́ (adv.) sweet

nɔ́-gɔ̨rɔ dɛ́ rɔ̨ɔ ɪ̨rɪ́rɪ́ honey is very sweet

ɪ̨si(ɔ́) (v.) to push down on something, press

K

kakó (n.) See gɔy

kam (n.) very thick porridge of the consistency of bread dough, made of manioc or sorghum flour, cooked over fire in an earthen pot for a short time by gradually adding water until thick; broken off and used to dip up sauce; by extension, food

ru kam to make porridge

kan (n.) stalk (of corn, sorghum), torch made of this material

hɛ̨ɛ kan to tie up stalks to make into a torch

káná (n.) bracelet

kaŋgi(á) < Sango káŋgà (v.) to shut, close

kaŋgi kɔ̨-́sɛra to be resolute

kara (n.) hill, mountain

kátá kátá (adv.) quickly (?)

wá roà kátá kátá, go wa sɪ́ ʔdoŋ they threw themselves together and went back

kátó (n.) hoof

kay-á (v.) to take, receive (pl. obj.)

kay ŋmaá to get together, assemble

kay zoro to catch fish

kaya (n.) ctn. large antelope (Hippotragus equinus); taboo to the newly circumcised

ą́ (conn.) See kó

ką́ (n.) side
ką́-zaŋ-́ri beside the stream
tɛ-ką́a at the side, beside it
yoo nɛ ką́-tɛ to stand at the side
kąa (v.) See kąr-á
ką́árá (n.) ?
bé-ką́árá a boy who has not yet been circumcised
ką́fɛ́ (n.) opinion (?)
si ką́fɛ́ to dispute, argue
gan am kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ-́si ką́fɛ́ oro-ndú-wa ná I don't want to dispute what they say
kąr-á ~ kąa (v.) to roll up, braid
kąsi(á) (v.) to seize, hold on to
kéey ~ kéri (n.) fear
am dɛ́ kéey I am afraid
kéey dɛ́m I am afraid
yu kéy-́tɛ-wí-ré to be afraid of someone, to respect someone
kéey-́yám mother's older or younger brother's wife, father's younger brother's wife
kélé (n.) ?
e kélé wen-́dɛ mɔ to decide to do something
am é kélém ín mɛ́ I trust you
kéri (n.) See kéey
kɛ́ (conn.) See kó
kɛ́lá kɛ́lá (adv.) ?
kɛli kɛ́lá kɛ́lá to be happy (?)
kɛli(á) (v.) to be happy (?)
kɛ́rá (n.) ctn. grassland tree (*Daniella* *oliveri* Hutch. and Dalz.), the leaves are worn by girls after excision
kɛrɛ (n.) very large pot used in the making of beer
kɛ̨-á (v.) to divide into portions
kɛ̨́ (conn.) See kó
kɛ̨ɛ (v.) See kɛ̨r-á
kɛ̨r-á ~ kɛ̨ɛ (v.) to gaze, stare at
kiʔdi(ó) (v.) to look for, hunt
nɛ kiʔdi saʔde to go hunting
kifi ~ kip, kifó (v.) to turn around, change, change into
kii (v.) See kir-ó
kín (n.?) now; used in commands
kín mɛ tɛ́ Now come!
kínɛɛ (n.) now
kínɛɛ nɔ́ɔ, wen kɔ́m sɔná now my story is finished
kip, kifó (v.) See kifi
kir-ó ~ kii (v.) to search afar
kiri (n.) size, shape (of body), whole
kiri-tɛ-́saʔde all of the animal's body
wa bá duwai nɛ́ oro-́kiri they take the goat whole (not killed and butchered)

kɪ́si (n.) beads, once a certain kind obtained by barter, now used of all beads
ko (n.) ctn. palm tree (Borassus aethiopum)
ko-á (v.) to give birth, bear (a child)
kó ~ ką́ ~ kę́ ~ kɛ́ ~ kɔ́ (conn.) of. See 344
am húff kóm as for myself, I was having diarrhea
kó- (combining form for kóo) female, woman
kó-toró female dog
kóa the female one
kó ką́ ą his wife
kóʔbo (n.) a ctn. tree (Strychnos innocua Del.) and its fruit (which is the size of a large orange)
kofo (n.) cowry shell
kokoroŋ (adv.) round, oval; head-band worn by elders; old-fashioned name for bicycle
koo (v.) See kor-á
kóo ~ kó- (n.) woman, wife
kó-duwa female witch
bé-kóo girl, daughter
ba kóo to take a wife, get married
kɔr-á ~ koo (v.) to dry up
kor (adv.) round (of object or motion)
kóro (n.) rain, rain clouds
nú-kóro beginning of the rainy season
kóro pɪ́ lightning is striking
pɪ́ɔ́ kóro lightning
ri-kóro rain water
kóróró (adv.) very black
tų kóróró to be very black
kote (n.) a specialist at anything, a gifted person
koy (n.) remainder, remaining, the rest
ó koy-wɪ́-ré the rest of the people
koyo (n.) ctn. bird
kɔ́ (conn.) See kó
kɔ́ʔdá (n.) debt
gɔn kɔ́ʔdá to pay off a debt
kɔʔdɔrɔ kɔʔdɔrɔ (adv.) perseveringly
kɔfɛ (n.) in-law
wéey-́kɔfɛ son-in-law
dɛ kɔfɛ to work for one's in-laws in partial payment for a bride, to be "engaged"
mɔ-́kɔfɛ things relating to getting married
nɛ ~ tɛ kɔfɛ to go or come for the purpose of working for a bride
kɔk-á (v.) to get entangled, sew two pieces of material together by putting a stitch here and there
kɔli(á) (v.) to cough
kɔndi ~ kɔni (n.) maize
kɔni (n.) See kɔndi

kɔ́ɔ́ (n.) See kɔ́r-
kɔ́r- ~ kɔ́ɔ́ (n.) back (not part of one's body)
kɔ́ɔ́-tuwa behind the house
nɛ kɔ́ɔ́-wa to follow them
zɔk kɔ́ɔ́-wa to look in their direction
ɔ ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̧́ kɔ́ɔ́ yɛ̧́ɛ́ to be in the bush for a long time
kɔ́ɔ́-mɛ́ nɛ́ yɛ̧rá after you've done this a long time
kɔ́raaí later, after that
kɔ́rɔ́ (n.) good luck, fortune (?)
dɛ kɔ́rɔ́-tɛ-béemi to do something for a child's good luck
kɔy-á (v.) to ask for, beg
bó wá kɔy mɔ ín mɛ́ when they ask you for things
kɔ̧-á (v.) to agree, like, consent, respond, call back
kɔ̧ ʔɗoŋáa to agree to it
wa kɔ̧́ tɛ-́mɛ they're answering from over there
kɔ̧ ʔdoŋ-́dɛ mɔ to want to do something
kɔ̧ (n.) hole
kɔ̧-́kɔ̧ in the hole
kɔ̧-́zaŋ-mɛ́ in you
dɛ kpém kɔ̧-́sɛra ín wa to be of one heart with them, be kind to them
kɔ̧m-á (v.) to pluck (stem or leaf)
kɔ̧m zįfa to pluck a stem for a switch
kɔ̧rá (n.) chicken
bé-kɔ̧rá chick
kɔ̧wá (n.)
hey kɔ̧wá to cry with tears
mų́rú-kɔ̧wá tears
kú ~ kų́ (n.) leg
kuʔbú (n.) mat erected to act as screen around sleeping place in a house; in other dialects known as geegezí
kúku (perhaps kúkutí) first, before, ahead
laŋgi kúku-tí go on ahead
mɔ-kúku-tí things of long ago
kur-ó ~ kuu (v.) to arise, leave from, depart
kura (n.) arrow
pį kura to shoot an arrow
te-́kura bow
kúri (n.) egg
kúri-́kɔ̧rá chicken egg
kuro (n.) camwood
kusára < Sango (n.) work
dɛ kusára to work
kusi (subst.) nine
kutú (n.) fog
kútu (n.) hut, temporary dwelling
kuu (v.) See kur-ó
kuu oróai ną ą láŋgí later he departed

kúú (n.) other side of a river
kų-ɔ́ (v.) to cross (a stream)
kų náŋá to start
kų náŋá-nɛi kɔ́m ré na when I started out to come home here
kų sɛ́rɛ to start a fight
kų́ (n.) See kú
kųrí (n.) ctn. tree

KP

kpa-á (v.) to find, discover, receive, meet
kpáá mɔ wealth
gan wa kpá dɛ́á saa ná they weren't happy
wá zikò núa kpá they went completely around it
ɛrɛ kpá ŋmaà ín wa we meet each other
kpá (n.) location of the rumbling of an elephant's intestines
kpá-zaŋ́-fɔrɔ wéé ururu the elephant's belly rumbles ururu
kpaa (adv.) real, really
rǫk kpaa tɛɛ́m to really please me
kpána (n.) pot
ndɛ́ rɛ́ dɔ ŋmaá kǫ-kpána na we will keep food from each other in the pot here (part of a proverb)
kpárɛ́ (n.) planting-seed
kpárɛ́-kɔndi corn planting-seed
kpasá (n.) life
kpa kpasá to find life, to come out with one's life
ą́ ʔmɔná kpasá he's still alive
kpasi(á) (v.) to be alive, survive
ą́ ʔmɔná go kpásí he's still alive
kpásá mɔ the thing itself, the real thing
kpasi (n.) life (from influence of Christian religion?)
zam kpasi to save one's life, preserve life
kpasí (adj.) true
kpasí wen the truth
kpąy-á (v.) to ferment, be sour
kpąy yįna to prepare medicine
kpe-á (v.) to shut, lock
kpe tuwa nɛ́ gey to plaster a house with mud
kpém (subst.) one; in negative sentence, at all
ʔbay yo kpém just the hide alone
kpém kpém sɔ́n each and every one
gan wa yú kpém ná they didn't get out of the way at all
kpɛ́kɛ́rɛ́ (adv.) (leave) without one's whereabouts being known
kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ (adv.) descr. of walking and looking for something very carefully
kpȩtí (n.) perseverence
wéey dɛ́ mɔ nɛ́ kpȩtí a man does things with perseverence

kpɛ̣́yá (n.) place where vision is unobstructed for a long way, open space
kpo-á (v.) to tie up and make a knot
  kpo nɛ́ ŋmaá to tie together
kpolo (n.) ctn. owl
kpoó (n.) meat sauce (to be eaten with kam)
kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ (adv.) descr. of good health, body unaffected by leprosy
kpɔ̣́ŋ kpɔ̣́ŋ (adv.) very black
kpụ́ŋ (adv.) (run off) without stopping

L

láázák (adv.) everything, completely
lám (adv.) in a hurry, right away
  ɛrɛ kúú lám let's get going right away
laŋgi(á) (v.) to go on, pass on
léf- (n.) See lép
lép ~ léf- (n.) tongue
  léfém my tongue
  lép-rɛ́ our tongues
lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́ lɛ́ŋgɛ́rɛ́ (adv.) descr. of small portion of a liquid
lúŋmgbé (n.) ctn. tree (Combretum sp.); the leaves are used by women for skirts

M

-m (pron. suf.) 1S. See 382
makunzi ~ makunde < Sango (n.) village headman, chief
mam-á (v.) to laugh, smile
  wa mámaa they laugh at him
  mam mami ín wí-ré to joke with, converse in a jovial manner with people
mami (n.) laughter, smile
mạ-á (v.) to plant by stems or stalks
mạ́ (conn.) See mɔ́
mạa (v.) See mạr-á
mạr- ~ mạa (v.) to put an article of clothing around one's waist (originally bark-clout or leaves)
mɛ (subst.) that place, there
mɛ́ (pron.) 2S
mɛ́m (n.) dew
mɛ̣́ (conn.) See mɔ́
mí (pron.) See mbí
mɔ (n.) thing; used with verb when no other object is specified
  gan ạ zɔ́k mɔ ná he can't see
  mɔ gɔ̣́y like this, in this manner
  mɔ-́yɔ̣ŋi things to eat, food
  zɛmbɛ́ ɔ́ nɛ mɔ-́kpa mɔ the zɛmbɛ́ fetish is something with which one acquires wealth

mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ́   since they come
mɔí a wa gbɛ́ ạ wenáa   that's why they are killing it
wen kó mɔ ndɛ wa tɛ́   because they come
mɔ́ ~ mạ́ ~ mẹ́ ~ mbɛ́ ~ mbɔ́ (conn.)   See 333
mɔk-á (v.)   to be, become soft
mọɔrɔ́ (subst.)   five
mọy-á (v.)   to gather
ɛrɛ mọ́y tɛ-kpém fara   we gather at one place
mundú (n.)   See mbunzú
munzú (n.)   See mbunzú
mụr- ~ mụu (n.)   boneless meat, flesh
mụu-tɛ-́ạ   the flesh of his body
mụ́rú (n.)   hail, lip plug (a piece of manioc tuber or stone inserted in a hole in the upper or lower lip)
mụu (n.)   See mụr-

MB

mba-á (v.)   to greet, to shake one's hand in greeting or congratulations
mbaŋ-á (v.)   to split, to cut lengthwise
mbé (adj.)   new, another, different
wa gbɛ́ mbéa   they kill another one
tọ mbéa ʔbɔ   to repeat
ạ kíʔdí mbé fiyo   he looks for another fetish
mbɛ́ (conn.)   See mɔ́
mbɛɛ (n.)   ctn. small antelope (reed-buck?)
mbɛɛ (v.)   See mbɛr-á
mbɛr-á ~ mbɛɛ (v.)   to beat, pound, slap, play (a drum or a stringed instrument)
mbɛ́tɛ (n.)   truth (?)
nɛ mbɛ́tɛ   indeed
mbɛ́tí < Sango (n.)   paper, book, letter
tọɔ mbɛ́tí   to read
dɛ mbɛ́tí   to write
mbí ~ mí (pron.)   1S
mbiri mbiri (adv.)   somewhat dark, obscure
fara ɔ́ mbiri mbiri   it's darkish
mbo-á (v.)   to restrain (?)
wí-mbóá zu   a responsible person
mboʔdi(á) (v.)   to make into balls (as in the preparation of food)
mboró (n.)   red monkey (*Erythrocebus patas*)
mbóro (subst.)   afternoon, evening (between around 3 p.m. and dark)
mbɔ́ (conn.)   See mɔ́
mbɔ́ŋgɔ́ (n.)   puddle
mbọɔ (v.)   See mbɔr-á
mbɔr-á ~ mbɔɔ (v.)   to rot (of meat)
mbɔra (n.)   law, rule

bé-zee mbɔra obedient child
wa tɔ̨́ mbɔra-́gaza they give the rules concerning the circumcision rites
mbɔy (n.) bride-price
mbunzú ~ munzú ~ mundú < Sango (n.) white man
mbúre (n.) roasted sesame seeds
mbutú (mbutu?) (n.) ?
mbutú-sukpa manioc leaves crushed in mortar and cooked without gbɔlɔ or okra

ʔM

ʔma-á (v.) to track down (animals)
ʔmaa (n.) rainy season
zaŋ-́ʔmaa in the rainy season
ʔmɛ̨ɛ (v.) See ʔmɛ̨r-á
ʔmɛ̨r-á ~ ʔmɛ̨ɛ (v.) to prevent, obstruct, cover up
ʔmɛ̨ɛ mɔ-́foyo kó wa to cover up their shameful parts
ʔmįrak ʔmįrak (adv.) descr. of blinking
ʔmɔn-á (v.) to remain, stay, be left; to still be doing something; right, just
ʔmɔnà kpém one remains
ʔmɔná gó gan wa dɛ́ ná they haven't done it yet
saʔde ʔmɔná gó ɔ́ nu the animal is still on the ground
nɛ ʔmɔ́n, nɛ gám tɛ̨-ɛ̨́ and then he turned around
ʔmɔ́n ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̨́ right in the bush
ʔmɔ́n gɔ̨́y ą tɔ̨́ ye so he said
ʔbay mɔ kpém ʔmɔ́n just one thing
ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n (adv.) categorically, absolutely
bɛ̨ ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n to absolutely refuse
ʔmuŋ (adv.) ?
zų nu ʔmuŋ to descend with a certain noise

N

na (subst.) here
tɛ-ré kɛ́ rɛ́ na at our village here
ná (adj.) See 362.1
ná (adv.) See gan . . . ná
naa ~ naʔa (n.) mother; used with the name of a child instead of personal name in polite, direct address
naa-Bɔysɛ́ Bɔysɛ́'s mother
naʔa-́duwa goat with kids
nam (n.) family, relative
naŋ-á (v.) to be lacking, inadequate
kpáá mɔ gan nɛ́ naŋ mɛ̀ ná you will not be lacking in wealth
náŋ (n.) foot
bɔlɔ-náŋ footprints, tracks
náŋá (n.) beginning (?)

kų náŋá	to begin
ną (conn.)	See nɛ
ną́á (subst.)	See ną́r-
nąk-á (v.)	to tremble
tɛ-́ą ną́k	he is trembling
ną́ká (n.)	?
dɔ ną́ká	to be selfish
ną́r- ~ ną́á (subst.)	four
nɛ ~ ną ~ nę ~ndɛ ~ ndɔ (conn.)	See 332.4
nɛ-á ~ ną ~ nę ~ ndɛ ~ ndo (v.)	to go; aux. for future. See 394.32
nɛ nɛ́ ą	to take him
kóro ŋmá rɛ́ go nɛ́ nɛ́	it rained on us and kept on doing it
nɛ nɔ	to walk
nɛ́ (conn.)	with, by means of, etc. See 345
ó mɔ hárá sɔ́n ną ą tɔ̨̀ nɛ́i	all the things about which he spoke
nɛ́ ture	in the morning
nɛ́ (copula)	See 352
nɔ-á (v.)	to drink
nɔ (n.)	walk, trip
nɛ nɔ	to walk
nɔ́ (n.)	oil, fat, grease
nɔ́-saʔde	animal grease
nɔn-á (v.)	to harden (?)
nɔn tɔ̨	to speak secretively
nɔ́ɔ (adj.)	this. See 632.2
ɛrɛ gbó sɛn-tɛ-́na nɔ́ɔ	we arrived here
nɔ̨́y (n.)	bird
nu (n.)	earth, ground
fire-́nu	dust
pį nu	to throw down
nú ~ ndú (n.)	mouth, edge, rim
ha oro-nú	to give a command
am pį́ núm sɛnɛ́	I add my bit (to the conversation)
nú-tuwa	front of house, door of house
yoo nɛ nú	to be quiet, not speak
si ką́fɛ́ oro-nú	to dispute what has been said
ba nú	to be too much for one to cope with, to be a bother
nú-ną́á (subst.)	See nú-ną́r-
nú-ną́r- ~ nú-ną́á (subst.)	eight
nųn-ɔ́ (v.)	to smell
ŋma mɔ nų́núm	I smell something
nųr-ɔ́ ~ nųu (v.)	to rub between the palms of one's hands
nųu (v.)	See nųr-ɔ́
Nzapá ~ Ndapá < Sango (n.)	God

ND

ndak-á (v.) to chase away
ndará (n.) buffalo
nday (ndaáy?) ?
nde (f.p.) See 323
ndé (f.p.) narrative vocative, interrogative marker. See 322
ndee (n.) See nder-
ndéé (adv.) few, little, small
    ó kɔ̨rá kɔ́m gan dɔ́k ná go ɔ́ ndéé I have only a few chickens
nder- ~ ndee (n.) quiver (for arrows)
ndɛ́ (v.) See nɛ
ndɛ́ɛ́r (adv.) nice looking (descr. of cowry shells tied to forehead)
ndɛŋgɛ (n.) ctn. palm; the fronds are used in weaving mats and in making skirts
ndin-ó (v.) to chase away
ndíiŋ (adv.?) dirty
ndo (conn.) See nɛ
ndoti(á) (v.) to be thick (as of cloth, lumber)
ndoy-á (v.) to save, collect, put aside
ndɔ-á (v.) to have sexual relations; impolite but explicit term, by implication the sexual act is illegitimate by the culture's standards
ndɔ (v.) See nɛ
ndɔɔ (v.) See ndɔr-á
ndɔr-á ~ ndɔɔ (v.) to shoot (by means of arrow or gun)
    ndɔɔ tan to twist the hair into many little tufts, then apply the liquid of a certain root to stiffen them
ndú (n.) See nú
nduy-ó (v.) to chase away

ʔN

ʔnaŋ-á (v.) to ruin, destroy, perish
    naa kɔ́m ʔnaŋá my mother died
ʔnáŋ (adj.) bad, evil
    ʔnáŋaa dɔká the bad ones are numerous
    ŋma ʔnáŋ mbunzú a certain bad white man
ʔnɛ́ŋ (adv.) very early in the morning
ʔnɔ̨ɔ (n.) excrement
    sɔ̨ ʔnɔ̨ɔ to defecate

ŋG

ŋgabala (n.) metal nostril plug used as adornment
ŋgan wí (n.) ctn. dance associated with purification after defilement by killing an animal dangerous to man or by killing a human being.

See W. J. Samarin, Gbɛya prescientific attitudes and Christianity, Practical Anthropology 6:179-182 (1959).
ŋgaŋgú < Sango (n.) strength
ŋgaragé (n.) ctn. hunting society. See W. J. Samarin, Ngaragé, a Gbɛya society, African Studies 18:190-196 (1959).
ŋgay (n.) strength, hard, difficult
bé-ŋgay son, boy
dɛ ŋgay to act fiercely, act violently
tɔ̨ wen ŋgay to speak severely
ɔ́ ŋgay wen kɛ́ rɛ́ wen-nɛ́á it's hard for us to go
ŋgendé < Sango (n.) chaise-longue
ŋgéré (n.) shield
ŋgeti(á) to bite
ŋgɛm-á ~ ŋgɛmbá (v.) to hold, keep, wait for
ŋgɛm tɛ to be careful, take precautions
ŋgɛ́mbaa Wait for him!
ŋgɛwɔɔ (adv.) descr. of bark cloth which has had ndɛŋgɛ sewn on it
ŋginda (n.) See ŋginza
ŋginza ~ ŋginda < Sango (n.) money
ŋgombe < Sango (n.) gun
ŋgómbi (n.) cloth made by pounding the bark of the zɔɔ́rɔ tree
ŋgondo (n.) direction from which wind is blowing at the time of the great grass-burning
ŋgɔ́k (n.) nail (of finger, toe)
ŋgɔ́n (n.) up, high
feá tɛ-ŋgɔ́n died standing up (that is, before falling down)
nɛà ŋgɔ́n mɛ went up there
ŋgɔɔr (adv.) with a loud noise
ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m (adv.)
nɛ nɛ́ ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m to take something completely away
gbįn ŋgɔ́rɔ́m ŋgɔ́rɔ́m to collapse into uselessness
ŋgɔyá (n.) bush-hog (*Potamochoerus porcus*); taboo to newly circumcised
ŋguʔdú (n.) chest
ŋguʔbú (n.) hippopotamus; taboo to newly circumcised

ŊM

ŋma ~ ŋa (adj.) a, certain
gbɛá ŋma toró killed a dog
ŋma-á (v.) to press down on, wet (of rain)
kóro ŋmaà rɛ́ the rain wet us
ŋḿaa (subst.) other, some, a few
ŋmaa gan bó ʔbɔ ná there aren't any others
ŋmaa a yóri there's one standing there
ŋmaá (subst.) each other
wa ɔ́ nɛ yą́ kó ŋmaá they are brothers
wa ték ín ŋmaá they fall together

ɛ́rɛ́ aà kɔ́ɔ́-ŋmaà ín wa   we joined up with them
kay ŋmaá   to assemble, get together
ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́k (adv.)   See ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ
ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ (adv.)   very often, all the time, for ever
ŋmąy-á (v.)   to cut off, to slice off, to cease (flowing or raining)
kóro gan ŋmą́y dɔ̨́ɔ́ ná   the rain didn't stop soon
wá ŋmąyà tɛ-́wa   they broke up (for each one to go his own way)
tɔ̨k-tɛ-́wa bó ŋmą́yá   when their blood has stopped flowing
ŋmíʔní ŋmíʔní (adv.)   tightly

ŋMGB

ŋmgban-á ~ ŋmgbandá (v.)   to rip off or apart
ŋmgbaŋ-á ~ ŋmgbaŋgá (v.)   to be or become fat
ŋmgbáŋ (adv.)   also (especially in accompaniment with)
ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́ (n.)   leprosy
ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́ dɛ́ ą   he has leprosy
ŋmgbíim (n.)   ctn. fish which, upon contact with flesh, gives an electrical shock; taboo to the newly circumcised
ŋmgbóŋ (adv.)   for a long time
dų́ŋ wa kíʔdí rɛ́ ŋmgbóŋ   they kept on looking for us for a long time
ŋmgbɔ-á (v.)   to pound (bark into cloth)
ŋmgbɔʔbɔk (adv.)   descr. of many people singing
ŋmgbɔŋ ŋmgbɔʔbɔ (adv.)   descr. of many people singing

O

o (subst.)   who? See 382.3
o á tɛá o ndé   who came?
oó (f.p.)   See 324
-ó (perf. suf.)   See -á
ó (adj.)   plural indicator. See 361.1
wa yɔ̨́ŋ ó kɔndi kɔ́m   they eat my corn
ó Ndurí   people from the village of Ndurí
ó Guʔdó nɛ́ ín Sáámɔ   Guʔdó and Sáámɔ went
ndɛ rɛ kpá ó yám-Sara   and we met Sara's father and those who accompanied him
óó   See óró . . . gá
oro (n.)   place of, the very place
dųŋ mɛ oro-rɛ́   to live there in our place
wa bá duwai nɛ́ oro-́kiri   they take the goat whole
oro-nú   a command, order
am pį́ paai oróai   I put the knife back in its place (where it first was)
kóa zéé wen oro-núm   the girl obeys according to what I say
si ką́fɛ́ oro-nú   to dispute what someone has said
kuu oro-zɛ́rɛ́ nɛ fey nɛ́ tɛá   after sickness death will come
kuu oróai ną ą tɛ́   later he comes

oro ~ ro (pron.) pl. explicit pron. See 382.12

ɓró (~ ɓó) . . . gá (conn.) like, as, as if, about approximately. See 332.5

ŋgɛ́m ɓró mɔ ną ą tę́i gá Wait just as he said to!

gba ą rǫkà ɓró gende gá even if she is good like anything

ɓró ną́ ą́ kúró gá as if he were going to get up

ɔ (pron.) 1P (from Boguila dialect)

ɔ-á (v.) to be, sleep (very often of sg. subj.)

ɔ nu to lie down

ɔ ín kóo to have sexual relations with woman

gan ɔ́ mbɛ́ rɛ́ si fɛ̨́ɛ́ ná it's not for us to argue

paa kɔ́m ɔ́ sɛnɛ́ I have a knife

paa am ɔ́ nɛ́ as for a knife, I have one

mɔ-́ɔi things on which to sleep

-ɔ́ (perf. suf.) See -á

ɔm-á ~ ɔmbá (v.) to breathe

ɔm tɛ to rest

ˀmɔná go ɔ́m ɔmi he's still breathing

ɔ̨y-á (v.) to vomit

P

paa (n.) knife

zɔm-́paa very large knife, sword

parába < Sango < Portuguese (n.) trouble, argument

ndɛ́ rɛ́ dɛ parába sɔ́ɔ we're going to have trouble today

pee (v.) See per-á

per-á ~ pee (v.) to return to the place at which one is speaking

pee ˀdoŋ to return

pesi(á) (v.) to be wide

pɛ (n.) year

pɛ́ɛ nɔ́ɔ this year

dɛ pɛ rííto to last two years

pɛ́ɛ́ (n.) See pɛ́r-

pɛ́r- ~ pɛ́ɛ́ (n.) string, rope

pɛ́ɛ́-dɔ́ma rope made from the bark of the dɔ́ma tree

pɛ̨ɛ́ (n.) kob antelope (*Adenota kob*)

pį-ɔ́ (v.) to put, cast, throw (sg. obj.)

pį yaŋgo to fish with hook-and-line

pį kura to shoot an arrow

poo (n.) gallery-forest

poopó (n.) lungs

R

-ra (det. suf.) See -a

rá (adv.) ?

e rá to give up, cease doing something

raa (n.) ctn. very small black ant
ráká?dí (adv.) unafraid
ą́ ?mɔná go yóó ráká?dí he remained standing unafraid
rąma (n.) ?
túrú-rąma cloth woven from indigenous cotton
re-á (v.) to enter (sg. subj.), set (of sun)
ré (n.) village, home
ą́ nɛà ré ką́ ą he went home
wí-ré person
wí-zaŋ-ré villager
rę́-naa mother's village
ré (?) See 382.3
dɛà ré ge what happened? what's up?
rɛ (pron.) See ɛrɛ
rɛ́k rɛ́k (adv.) not missing a thing, exactly
rɛ́kɛ́t (adv.) on the spot
rɛm-á (v.) to be able, can; to be enough; to be equal to, alike
rɛm wen kó nɛ to be able to go
rɛm dɛ mɔ to be able to do something
ɛ̨́ rɛmà rɛ́ this is enough for us
bó wá yɔ rɛ́m after they have danced enough
wesé bó rɛ́má when it is time
ą dɛ́ go rɛ́m ín oro-nú-wa he did it in compliance with their instructions
rɛm rú?dú?dú to be absolutely alike
wá yǫŋá ge?da gó gan rɛ́m ná they ate an awful lot of manioc
rɛ̨mɛ (n.) sand
ri (n.) water, river, year
bé-ri creek
ri-kóro rainwater
ɔ́ ri it's wet
dɛ ri to set traps to catch fish
zu-́ri source of stream, spring
?doŋ-́ri river bank
ri-ó (v.) to eat (when the sauce is entirely liquid)
ríf- (n.) See ríp
ríto (subst.) two
ríp ~ ríf- ~ rí (n.) eye, face
ríp-záan the sky
ríp-ri surface of the river
gɔm ríp to blink
kǫ-ríp-wa their faces
á mɛ́ yǫŋ mɔ tɛ-ríp-wí-ré ná Don't eat food in the presence of people!
rįfi(ɔ́) (v.) to make string by rolling fibers on one's thigh
rįk-ɔ́ (v.) to hit, strike
rįk nu to fall down
ro (pron.) See oro
ro-á (v.) to hit (as with a stone)

rɔk-á (v.) to be smooth
rɔy (adv.) See rɔy rɔy
rɔy rɔy (adv.) without restrictions (very wide range of meaning)
wa kpá ŋma wí-ré zaŋ-réi rɔy they find just somebody in the village
mɛ rɛ́m kpąy há wí-ré rɔy rɔy you may prepare (the medicine) for people without restrictions
tɔ̨ wen rɔy rɔy to talk unwisely, indiscretely
yɔ̨ŋ mɔ rɔy rɔy to eat without any precautions
rɔ̨k-á (v.) to be good, be pleasing
réi rɔ̨́k tɛ-rɛ́ the village pleases us, we like the village
rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́ gán, goi bá mbunzù nɔ́ɔ it would be better if you took this white man
ą dɛ́ mɔ rɔ̨́k ʔdɛ́ she works well
rɔ̨ɔ (n.?) sweetness (?)
dɛ rɔ̨ɔ to taste good, to be sweet
ru-ó (v.) to prepare (porridge)
rúʔdúʔdú (adv.) being absolutely alike
rųm-ɔ́ (v.) to collect a large quantity of something
rųm nú to pucker up one's lips

S

sa-á (v.) to sing, call
sa gima to sing a song
sa mɔ to call out, yell
sa yín to expose someone
saa (n.) fun, game, enjoyable time
dɛ saa to have fun, rejoice
mɔ-́saa plaything, toy
nɛ́ saa ná an intensifier (lit. no joke): ą góy rɛ́ nɛ́ saa ná he likes us very much
saa (n.) See sar-á
saakara (n.) island
saʔde (n.) animal, meat
saʔde-́tɛ flesh, body
sáki < Sango < French (n.) thousand (francs)
sandɔ́ku < Sango (n.) box, trunk
saŋa (n.) within, between, among, inside
mɔ̨y tɛ-́saŋa to meet in the middle
sɛn-tɛ-́saŋa-́tɛ-ó tų́ wí-ré among Africans (lit. black people)
re saŋa-tɛ-́ą to enter him
sar-á ~ saa (v.) to scratch, go by another route, dispute
ą sáá ín wa he disputes with them
saa sék to think, ponder
sara (n.) crotch (of pole or tree)
sát (adv.) very early
say (n.) pumpkin

są-á (v.) ?
fara są to be a new day
sąa (adv.) sweet, good (of smell)
sąk-á (v.) to be clean, neat, correct
kóo gan rɛ́m tǫ wen ą́k ná a woman can't talk correctly
é hám zɔ́kaa są́k let me see it well
sąm-á (v.) to eat a crumbly or dry substance without dipping it into a sauce
są́p (n.) spittle
a są́p to spit
sék (n.) ?
saa sék to think, ponder
sélélé (adv.) quiet
ą yóó nɛ nú-ɛ̨́ sélélé he is very quiet
sɛ́ (conn.) See 332.6
sɛm sɛm (adv.) descr. of quivering spear shaft
sɛn (n.) place at which
mbunzú nɛ tɛà kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ sɛn-tɛ⁻Laagata the white man who came from Laagata
ɛk sɛn-tɛ⁻ŋma bé-te to lean against a small tree
ą rį́k nɛ dɛ́nɛ sɛn⁻tanámi he hit the wasps on my head with it
sɛn-á (v.) to hate, spite
dɛ sɛn mɔ to act in spiteful, hateful way
sɛnɛ́ (subst.) at this (that) place, there
pį sɛnɛ́ to add to it
paa kɔ́m ɔ́ sɛnɛ́ I have a knife
sɛra (n.) liver
tí-sɛrám péé I'm nauseated
ą dɛ́ kpém kǫ⁻sɛra ín wa he is of one heart with them
ɔ́ nɛ́ sɛra kó mɛ́ wen⁻dɛ mɔ it's your desire to do something
kǫ⁻sɛra-rɛ́ gan kɔ́ ʔdoŋ⁻nɛ fɔ ná we don't want to go to the gardens
sɛ́rá (n.) anthill
sɛ́rɛ (n.) spear
kų sɛ́rɛ to start a fight
sɛ̨k-á (v.) to chop (at a flat surface, as with an adze)
sɛ̨k ʔdoŋ-íyo⁻te to clean the back-side of a piece of bark
sɛ̨m⁻a (v.) to tuck in
wa sɛ̨́m wą́ ką́-gun⁻wa they tie on leaves at each side of their hips
si-ó (v.) to return (usually to a place other than where one is speaking)
si fɛ̨́ɛ́ to argue, disagree
sí (n.) direction, way
sí-ką́-tɛ toward the side
ba sí-ʔday to take something away
ba sí-ʔdoŋ to take something away
sin-ó (v.) to tie long objects parallel to each other (as in making a screen)
sį́yú sį́yú (adv.) tightly
kąa pɛ́ɛ́ sį́yú sį́yú to braid string tightly
só (adj.?) ?
mɔ só what's-his-name

só ką́ (conn.) See só kó
só kɛ́ (conn.) See só kó
só kɛ̨́ (conn.) See só kó
só kó ~ só ką́ ~ só kɛ́ ~ só kɛ̨́ ~ sóó (conn.) then. See 332.7
sóó (adj.?) little
sóó naa mother's younger sister, (female) mother's older brother's daughter, (male) father's younger brother's wife (who is sibling of mother)
sóó (conn.) See só kó
soy-á (v.) to sit down, be seated
sɔk-á (v.) to grow up, mature, become old
sɔ́ká (n.) knowledge, wisdom
sɔ́kái (n.) elder, old person
sɔn-á (v.) to finish off, no longer exist
dąy-gaza sɔnà sɔ́n the circumcision wound is all healed
sɔ́n (adv.) all, completely
ɛ́rɛ́ sɔ́n, ɛrɛ zɔ́kaa all of us saw it
bą́ ą́ dɛ mɔ sɔ́n after he has finished working
ɛrɛ á fɔ sɔ́n we all went to the gardens
sɔ́ɔ (subst.) today
sɔ́ɔ nɔ́ɔ today
sɔ́rá (n.) star
sɔ́rám (n.) paternal uncle, term of respect for adult males
sɔ́ráam (used in direct address)
sɔ̨-á (v.) to secrete
sɔ̨ íni to urinate
sɔ̨ ʔnɔ̨ɔ to defecate
sɔ̨ bɛra (n.) sweat
sɔ̨ bɛra á tɛɛ́m I'm perspiring
súʔbé (n.) stomach (in its specific sense, that is, the organ)
sukpa (n.) manioc leaves (used as vegetable greens)
sunu (n.) sesame

T

ta (n.) stone
taa (subst.) See tar-
táá ~ táa (adv.)
ʔmɔnà táa not yet (of almost any incompleted action)
táa (adv.) See táá
tam-á (v.) to touch, feel
tan (n.) head
dɛ tan to fix up one's hair
gɔn tan to cut one's hair
tan-á (v.) to be straight, straighten
é hám zɔ́k tán sɛ́ let me see better
táná ʔdoŋ-wáá a straight road

tar- ~ taa (subst.) three
tą (n.) ?
  gɔn tą to think, make plans
  haa tą-́wen to think
tą (conn.) See tɛ
te (n.) tree, bush, stick
tek-á (v.) to fall
tɛ (n.) body; to, at (in preposition-like constructions)
  saʔde-́tɛ flesh
  kiri-́tɛ flesh
  gam tɛ to turn around
  zee tɛ to hear, obey (when there is no other object)
  zɔk tɛ to see
  too tɛ happiness
  tǫk-tɛ-́wa their blood
  tɛ́a ɔ́ nɛ búu it (the tree) is white
  nɛ ką́-tɛ on the side
  am gbúraa tɛ-́tɛɛ́m na I pull him toward me
  ą péé ʔdoŋ tɛ-́tɛ-rɛ́ na he returns to us here
tɛ ~ tę ~ tą ~ to (conn.) See 332.8
tɛ-á (v.) to come, as aux. (~ tę ~ tą ~ to). See 394.33
  tɛ nɛ́ mɔ to bring the thing
tɛndɛ (n.) cotton
  gba tɛndɛ a ctn. indigenous cultivated "cotton," the plant of which is large enough for children to climb on; the seeds are large
tí (n.) first, ahead, before, previously, in front of
  pee tɛ-tíi to return first
  gan am fįŋ wen kó dilai tí ná I didn't know about the lion before
  dak tí to lead (a group)
  hey kǫwá tí-ó dɛ́má wí-ré to cry in front of a crowd of people
  gbɛà ó wí-ré kó mɛ́ ʔbéé tí killed some of your people long ago
  kúku-tí the first thing, first of all
tįi (n.) See tįr-$_1$, tįr-$_2$
tįr-$_1$ ~ tįi (n.) tail
tįr-$_2$ ~ tįi (n.) canoe
tįrɛ (n.) payment, fee (for use of canoe, fetish, etc.)
to See tɛ (conn.), tɛ (aux.)
to (n.) fable
  tǫ to to relate fables
  Wan to the Spider (the main character of many fables)
to-á (v.) to pound (as in mortar), to knock down
tó See tɛ (v.)
tok-á (v.) to sew a string onto a piece of cloth by putting it in and out on a flat surface, to cut down (at the base of something)
tóko (n.) mat; (by extension) bed, sleeping place
  gɔ́n-tóko-zɛ́rɛ́ on a bed of illness
tom (n.) message, errand, work

dɛ tom to work
bé-tom messenger
yu tom to run with a message
tom-á ~ tombá (v.) to send
tom tom to send a message
am tóm hą̧́ ą̧ I send word to him
ton (n.) vagina
too tɛ (n.) happiness, happy
dɛ too tɛ to be happy, to celebrate
toró (n.) dog
toy (n.) baggage, personal belongings
toy-́yɔ̨ŋ mɔ eating utensil
toy-á (v.) to carry (on one's head)
tɔ-á (v.) to be sharp
tɔ́ŋ (n.) salt
tɔ̨-á (v.) to say, speak
wí-tɔ̨ wen person who talks too much
wa tɔ̨́ ye ge they say
tɔ̨k (n.) blood
tɔ̨k-tɛ-́wa their blood
tɔ̨ɔ (v.) See tɔ̨r-á
tɔ̨r-á ~ tɔ̨ɔ (v.) to count, enumerate
tɔ̨ɔ mbɛ́tí to read
ture (n.) morning
turee this morning
zu-́ture very early in the morning
túrú (n.) ctn. tree from which bark was cut off and used in making cloth (Ficus punctata Lam.); cloth, clothes
pį túrú to put clothes (on oneself)
tusi(ó) (v.) ?
tusi wey to make a fire
tut (adv.) suddenly
gɔm tut to cut something off with one stroke
tuwa (n.) house, building
nú-tuwa entrance, doorway
tų-ɔ́ (v.) to be or become dark, black
fara dųŋ tų́ rɛ́ it was beginning to get dark on us (that is, darkness was overtaking us)
tų ʔdóŋ ʔdóŋ to be very dark
tų́ (adj.) black
tų́ wí-ré black person, African
tųn-ó (v.) to waken

U

-ú (perf. suf.) See -á
ururu (adv.) descr. of rumbling of an elephant's intestines

usi(ó) (v.) to show, teach

V

valé (n.) covered pen (usually made of logs to protect against leopards; the entrance is shut each night)
valé-duwa goat-pen
vąy (adv.) ?
dųm vąy to spear with extreme forcefulness
vɛ̨ɛ (adv.) ?
yínaa hɔá saŋa-́tei vɛ̨ɛ the tusks appeared between the trees
vip (adv.) ?
e wey vip to set fire to something explosively
vúmɔ́ (n.) body hair, fur, feathers
vúmɔ́-tɛɛ́m my body hair
vúmɔ́-nɔ̨́y bird feathers
vúrú (n.) ctn. vine (Sarcophrynium sp.); used in mat-making
v̂oŋ (adv.) ?
ro v̂oŋ to hit something making it give off a ringing sound

W

wa (pron.) 3P
wa (f.p.) See 325
wa-á (v.) to hoe, weed, work with a hoe
wá (f.p.) See 326
waa (n.) See war-
Wáam (n.) a large river which flows north, by the towns of Bozoum and Bossangoa, and which meets the Nana Barya (river) at Batangafo
wáá (n.) See wár-
waka (n.) cane-grass
wan (n.) master, owner, boss
Wan to Spider (the main character of many fables)
wan fiyo one who owns the rights to a certain fetish
war- ~ waa (n.) beans
gbąra-́waa individual bean kernels
wár- ~ wáá (n.) path, road, way
a tí-wáá to set an ambush
wáá fara taa three times
ʔdoŋ-wáá-Bossangoa the road to Bossangoa
ʔdoŋ-wá-nɛ fɔ bó ná it's impossible to go to the gardens
am kíí ʔdoŋ-wáá ką́ á I'm trying to locate him
e wí-ré tɛ-́ʔdoŋ-wáá to put a person on his way, accompany a person to the road
ɔ́ nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáraa that's correct, that's the way
wa úsí ʔdoŋ-wáá há mɛ́ they show you the way (to do it)
wáá-wéey right side

wáá-kóo left side

way-á ~ wará (v.) to bear fruit

wárá-te fruit

waya (n.) ambush

yu waya to lie in ambush

wą́ (n.) leaf

kɔ̣m wą́ to pluck leaves

wą́a ~ wą́ára the leaves

we-á (v.) to measure

we tí-wa to meet them (on the road)

wee (v.) See wer-á

wéé (perhaps wér-?) (n.) ?

yɔ̣ŋ wéé-tí-sɛra-́ą to eat his liver (in witchcraft)

wéey (f.p.) See 327

wéey (n.) man, male

wéey-kɔfɛ son-in-law

dɛ tɛ nɛ wéey to act in a manly way

wééý (n.) ?

wééý-nú lip

wen (n.) word, affair, matter, subject

tɔ̣ wen to talk

wen gan bó ná it's all right, everything is fine

nɛ́ kpasí wen it's the truth

wenáa because of it, for it, about it

hɛ̨ɛ zu-́wen to conclude a matter, resolve a problem

ɔ́ nɛ́ wen kɛ́ rɛ́ wen-́dɛ mɔ we must do something

bóm gam tɛɛ́m wen kó nɛ́m ba te when I turned around to climb a tree

wa ɔ́ kɔ̣-kútu-́gaza wen-́ze kpém they sleep in the circumcision hut for a month

mɛ kíʔdí kóo ná wen-́ge ndé why aren't you looking for a wife?

ge a mɛ yú yui wenáa ge ndé why are you running?

wéndé ~ béndé (f.p.) See 328

mɛ́ tombá tom béndé did you send word?

wéndé . . . gan (conn.) See 332.9

wen kó (conn.) See 331.2

wen-́mɔ (conn.) See 331.2

wer-á ~ wee (v.) to supplicate (a fetish). See also wey-á

wesé (n.) sun, day

wesé reá the sun has set

wesé nɛ bɔ́ mɛ́ zɔkaa ná if you should not see him

tɛ-́wesé-kɔfɛ ną ą dɛ́i at the time when he is working for his in-laws

wey (n.) fire, heat, gun

e mɔ wey to put something on the fire to cook

nú-wey clan, clansman

ɔ́ wey it's hot (to the touch)

fara yóó wey it's hot (of the weather)

wey-á ~ werá (v.) to make a noise, go off

ą dóm fɛ̨ra go wéy féé he blows a whistle and it goes féé
wí (pron.) 2P
wí (n.) person, agentive
wí-o who?
wía the person
ge wí-ge ndé who?
wí-toy mɔ porter
wí-zaŋ-ré villager, one of us
wírí wírí (adv.) without anyone's knowing
raa á saŋa-tɛ-́ą wírí wírí the raa ants entered his body without his knowing
wóró wóró (adv.) ?
yu wóró wóró to flee quickly in a group
wɔ (n.) desire, hunger
fe wɔ to die of hunger
wɔ gbɛ́m I'm very hungry

Y

-y (QV) See gende gá ye ge
yaa (v.) See yar-á
yám (n.) father, used casually for one of the paternal uncles
yáam (in direct address)
yaŋgo < Sango (n.) fishhook
pį yaŋgo to fish with hook-and-line
yar-á ~ yaa (v.) to roam, walk, stroll
yaa yarí to go hunting
yara (n.) sleep
yara dɛ́m I'm sleepy
wa ɔ́ yara they are asleep
rífím bá yara I'm sleepy
yarí (n.) hunting
yaa yarí to go hunting
yą̂ (n.) sibling, friend, comrade
yą̂-wéey brother
yą̂-kóo sister
yąra (n.) ctn. fish; taboo to the newly circumcised
yąrɛ (n.) brother-, sister-in-law
yąy-á (v.) to pull apart
ye (QV) See gende gá ye ge
yelele (adv.) descr. of waving back and forth slowly
-yɛ (dem. suf.) See -ɛ
yɛk-á (v.) to shake in violent motions, tremble
yɛtɛtɛ (adv.) descr. of trembling
yɛ̨ɛ (v.) See yɛ̨r-á
yɛ̨r-á ~ yɛ̨ɛ (v.) to be far, long
ą̂ zųɔ̌ yɛ̨̂ɛ̨̂ he went far away

kɔ́ɔ́-mɛ́ nɛ́ yɛ̧rá   you'll be gone a long time
yín (n.)   name
ba yín   to talk about someone, slander
yín (n.)   root, tooth
yɔ̧ŋ yín   to be courageous, persevere
yi̧na (n.)   medicine
kpa̧y yi̧na   prepare medicine
yo (n.)   hide, leather
yoo (v.)   See yor-á
yor-á ~ yoo (v.)   to stand
yoo nɛ nú   to be quiet
yoo ŋgɔ́n   to stand up
yɔ-á (v.)   to lose, get lost
ám yɔá ʔdoŋ-wáá   I've lost the way
yɔ́á mɔ   fault, mistake
yɔ-á (v.)   to dance
yɔ yɔra   to dance
yɔk (n.)   trap
yɔli(á) (v.)   to move something toward oneself
yɔŋgi(á) (v.)   to carry (something big and/or heavy)
yɔra (n.)   dance
yɔy-á (v.)   to pull out (intestines of animal)
yɔ̧́ná (n.)   (garden) food, foodstuffs
yɔ̧ŋ-á (v.)   to eat, bite, chew
mɔ-́yɔ̧ŋi   food
yɔ̧ŋ íyo-́te   to chew bark to soften it
ŋma kóo á yɔ̧ŋá a̧ gbɛ́i   some woman chewed on her and killed her (in witchcraft)
yɔ̧y-á (v.)   to stick out, extend
am yɔ̧́y érém   I stick out my hand
yu-ó (v.)   to flee, run away, avoid
búk yú   the wind is blowing
yu waya   to lie in ambush
yu tom   to run with a message
yufi(ó) (v.)   to mix up, make (small portion of a pasty substance)
yui (n.)   running
yu yui   to run fast
yur-ó ~ yuu (v.)   to poke in, stick through
yuu (v.)   See yur-ó
yu̧m-ɔ́ (v.)   to hurt, ache
zaŋám yú̧m wenáa   I'm upset about it
tɛm yú̧m   I'm not feeling well

Z

za (n.)   throwing-knife
záan (n.)   outside, in the open

nɛ tɛ-záan   to go outside
rɪ́p-záan   sky
bú záan   white clouds
dų̣ŋ záan   to live a long time
zaʔda (n.)   chin, jowls
zaʔdi(á) (v.)   ?
zaʔdi yui   to run fast
zak (n.)   horn (of animal)
zak (n.)   fibrous material (?)
zak-́geʔda   fibers left after manioc flour has been sifted
zam-á (v.)   to save, deliver, preserve
zaŋ (n.)   stomach, belly; inside, in
yąk-́zaŋ-́saʔde   animal's intestines
ba zaŋ   to be or become pregnant
zaŋám yų́m wenáa   I'm angry about it
zaŋ-́wa dɛ́ saa   they are happy
ką́-zaŋ-́tuwa   beside the house
zaŋ-ré   in the village
záŋ (adv.)   different, apart
mɔ nɔ́ɔ ɔ́ záŋ   this thing is different
ą́ nɛà záŋ   he went a different way
zara (zará?) (n.)   horn (instrument)
zara-́ʔburɪ́   reed whistle
zawa (n.)   peanuts
zą-á (v.)   to dig up, dig (hole)
ząa (adv.)   in vain, without results
dɛ mɔ ząa   to do something without getting any results
ząra (n.)   a ctn. edible tuberous root (*Dioscorea sagittifolia* or *D. Lecardii*)
ze (n.)   moon, month
ge ze-́ge   when?
ge zée   when?
wa ɔ́ sɛnɛ́ ze kpém   they stayed there one month
zee (v.)   See zer-á
zer-á ~ zee (v.)   to hear, understand
zee wen   to listen, obey
zee oro-nú   to obey
gan wa zéé tɛ-́wa kpém ná   they just don't obey at all
am zéé ye ge mɛ́ gbɛá dila   I hear that you killed a lion
zɛ (subst.)   night
zu-́zɛ   very early in the morning, dawn
zɛ dɛá   it has become night
zɛɛ   tonight
zɛ́ɛ (subst.)   yesterday
zɛmbɛ́ (n.)   ctn. fetish
ba zɛmbɛ́   to appeal to, utilize the zɛmbɛ́
wɪ́-zɛmbɛ́   practitioner of the zɛmbɛ́ fetish
zɛra (n.)   ear

zɛ́rɛ́ (n.) sickness
zɛ́rɛ́ dɛ́ ą he is sick
wí-zɛ́rɛ́ sick person
zɛ̨́ (n.) smoke
zɛ̨́-wey smoke (literally, smoke of fire)
zik-ó (v.) to go around
zik tɛ to turn oneself to the side
zį́ (n.) fly
zį́-gɔ̨rɔ honeybee
zįfa (n.) switch for whipping people
zįi (v.) See zįr-ɔ́
zįm-ɔ́ (v.) to abstain from, observe a taboo, avoid
zįr-ɔ́ ~ zįi (v.) to descend, get down
zólóló (adv.) very white
zoro (n.) fish
zoy-á (v.) to swim, bathe
ą zóy ri he's bathing
zɔk-á (v.) to see, understand
gan ą zɔ́k tɛ-́ą ná he can't see, he is blind
rífaa ʔmɔná go zɔ́k mɔ wen kó mɛ́ she is expecting you
zɔm (adj.) big
zɔmi (n.) senior, someone whom one must respect
zɔn-á (v.) to admire
zɔ́ŋá (n.) young woman, woman whose body is still youthful
dɛ zɔ́ŋá to dress up (of girls)
zɔ́ŋá kɔ́m my adolescent daughter
zɔ́ŋá-ką́-Wáam (n.) ctn. tree
zɔɔ́rɔ (n.) ctn. tree (*Ficus sp.*)
zɔ̨́ (n.) grass, bush, uncultivated area away from the village
ɔ zɔ̨́ to sleep in the bush
pį zɔ̨́ to throw away
zɔ̨f- (n.) See zɔ̨p
zɔ̨m (n.) See zɔ̨p
zɔ̨p ~ zɔ̨m ~ zɔ̨f- (n.) nose
zɔ̨fɔ́m my nose
zɔ̨p-ɛ̨́ his own nose
zɔ̨m-́wa their noses
zu-ó (v.) to steal
zu (n.) head, top of; on
zu-́ri source of stream, spring
zu-́kara top of hill
zu-́ture very early in the morning
zu-́fey grave-site
wen nɛ́ ɔ zu-mɛ́ trouble will fall on you
á mɛ́ nɛ mɛ yoo zúa ná don't go and stand over them (while they eat)
zu-́wa ɔ́ taa there are three of them
sa ŋma wí-ré á zu-́wa to call some people to supplement them

zúsúka < Sango < French (adv.)   for a long time
  wa yáá gɔ̨́y ŋmgbóŋ zúsúka   they kept on walking like this for a long time
zų-ɔ́ (v.)   to stick, insert, depart
  zų nu   to descend
  ą yú kɛ̨́ ɛ̨́ zų́   he fled

ENGLISH-GBEYA

A

a, an ŋma
able, to be rɛm-á
about: to know about įŋ wen kó
ask them about it ák wa wenáa
about (approximately) óro . . . gá
absence, in the tɛ-́bɔlɔ
absolutely ʔmɔ́n ʔmɔ́n
abstain from, to zįm-ɔ́
accompany, to nɛ ín (lit. go with)
according oro
ache, to yųm-ɔ́
addition, in e-á
adequate, to be dam-á
admire, to zɔn-á
adolescent: boy bisa, girl zɔ́ŋá
affair wen
afraid: we were afraid kéey dɛà rɛ́
African tų́ wí-ré
after bɔlɔ, oro, kuu bɔlɔ́ai, kɔ́raaí
afternoon mbóro
again mbéa ʔbɔ
agree, to kɔ̨ ʔdoŋáa
ahead tí
alight on tree, to ba te
all lááɂák, sɔ́n; that's all sɔná; at all kpém ná
alone ɛn-tɛ
also ʔbɔ, ŋmgbáŋ
always ŋmą́ŋ ŋmą́ŋ
ambush: to set an ambush a tí-wáá; to lie in ambush yu waya
among ʔdɔr-, saŋa-tɛ
and nɛ, tɛ, go
anger dą
angry, to be zaŋ yųm-ɔ́, tɛ yųm-ɔ́
animal saʔde
anklet dɛla
another mbé, ŋma
ant (ctn.) raa
antelope biro, gba dɔ̨rɔ́, kaya, mbɛɛ, pɛ̨́
anus nú-geʔde
any (not particular) rɔy
anyone ŋma wí-ré rɔy
appear, to hɔ-á
approach, to heʔdi(á)
arise, to kur-ó
arm ér-, ʔbaka
around, to go zik-ó
arrive, to gbo-á
arrow kura
as See like
ashes búú-wey
ask, to ak-á; to ask for something, borrow kɔy-á
at sɛn, tɛ, nɛ́
avoid, to yu-ó; to avoid something tabooed zįm-ɔ́
away, to take ba sí-ʔday
awfully gan rɛ́m ná

B

back ʔdoŋ, kɔ́r-; back in the same place oróa; to go back si ʔdoŋ
bad ʔnáŋ
bag daná
bank of river ʔdoŋ-́ri
bark (of tree) íyo
base (of tree) gun
basket (ctn.) gɛzɛ
bathe, to zoy ri
be, to: sg. subj. ɔ-á, pl. subj. ya-á;

to be at a place for a year dɛ pɛ
bead kɪ́si
beans war-
bear, to: children ko-á, gbay-á; fruit way-á
because wen, wen-́mɔ nɛ, wen kó
become: it has become night zɛ dɛá
bed (sleeping place) tóko, gan dɔk, mɔ-́ɔi
bee zį́-gɔ̨rɔ
beer dɔ̨ɔ́
beg, to kɔy-á
begin, to kų náŋá, dųŋ-ɔ́
beginning kų geʔdéa
behind ʔdoŋ, kɔ́r-
belch, to bek-á
belly zaŋ
berry See fruit
beside ką́
better rɔ̨k ʔdɛ́ gán (lit. be good very surpasses)
between saŋa
big gą́sá, zɔm
bite, to ŋgeti(á), yɔ̨ŋ-á
bird nɔ̨́y
black, to be tų-ɔ́; kpɔ̨́ŋ, kóróró
blind: to become blind bom-á; blind person wɪ́-bóom
blink, to gɔm rɪ́p
blood tɔ̨k
blow (on instrument) dɔm-á; (of wind) yu-ó
body tɛ; whole body, flesh saʔde-́tɛ, kiri-́tɛ
bone gbąra
bow (weapon) te-́kura
bracelet káná
braid, to kąr-á
break, to: break off piece of food ʔbir-ó, in general gbįn-ɔ́
breast (mammary glands) bere
breathe, to ɔm-á
bride-price mbɔy
bridge ʔdúu
bring, to tɛ nɛ́ (lit. come with)
brother yą́-wɛ́ey
buffalo ndará
bullet gbąra-́wey
burn, to: intrans. ber-á, trans. dɔ-á
bury, to gųn-ɔ́
bush: uninhabited land zɔ̨́; tree te; section of grassland burnt in dry season gbɪ́ya
but See connectives (330)
butcher, to ʔbor-á
buttocks geʔde
by: by the side of ką́-tɛ; by means of nɛ́

C

call, to sa-á
camwood kuro
canoe tįr-
cap ʔboy
careful, to be ŋgɛm tɛ
carefully kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ kpɛ́rɛ́ŋ
carry, to: on one's head toy-á; something big and/or heavy yɔŋgi(á)
catch, to: sg. obj. ba-á, pl. obj. kay-á
cease doing something, to e rá
certain (some) ŋma
chase away, to fo-á, ndin-ó, nduy-ó
chew, to yɔ̨ŋ-á
chicken kɔ̨rá
chief makunzi
child béem, bé-
chin zaʔda
chop, to: to chop down gɔm-á; to chop at a flat surface sɛ̨k-á
circle, to: to make a circle ʔbo-á; to circle around so as not to be seen hįk-ɔ́
circumcise, to gɔn nɛ́ gaza
circumcision gaza; uncircumcised boy ką́árá
clan nú-wey
clay gey
clean, to be sąk-á
climb, to daŋ-á

close, to   kpe-á
cloth: from zɔɔ́rɔ tree   ŋgómbi; in general   túrú; clothes   mɔ-́a tɛ, mɔ-́mąri
cloud: white cloud   bú záan; raincloud   kóro
cold (weather)   gɛ̨ɛ́
come, to: tɛ-á; to come out (sg. subj.)   hɔ-á; (pl. subj.)   gbay-á
command, to   ha oro-nú
completely   sí-ʔday, sɔ́n
conclude a matter, to   hɛ̨ɛ zu-́wen
consider, to   har-á
continue, to   nɛ nɛ́, dųŋ-ɔ́
cook food, to   gi-ó
cool, to become   gą-á
corn   kɔndi
correctly   sąk-á
cotton: in general   tɛndɛ; ctn. indigenous cotton   gba tɛndɛ, ʔbɛ́ʔbɛ́
cough, to   kɔli(á)
count, to   tɔ̨r-á
courageous, to be   yɔ̨ŋ yín
cover, to   gu-ó
cow   bágara
cowry shell   kofo
crawl, to   hay-á
creek   bé-ri
creep, to   hay-á
cross, to: to cross a stream   kų ri; to cross sticks   kpay te
crowd (of people)   dɛ́má wí-ré
crush (seeds for oil), to   hɔ̨ŋ-á
cry, to   hey kɔ̨wá
curse, to   dą-á
cut, to: in general   gɔn-á; to cut off end   ŋmąy-á; to cut out bark   ʔba-á; to cut out and make a run for it   gɔm-á

D

dance (n.):   in general   yɔra; ctn. dance   ŋgan wí
dance, to   yɔ yɔra
dark: to be dark   tų-ɔ́; descr. mbiri mbiri
dawn, to   fara ʔbaa
day   wesé; to become day   fara są
death   fey
debt   kɔ́ʔdá
defecate, to   sɔ̨ ʔnɔ̨ɔ
deliver (save one's life), to   zam-á
depart, to   kur-ó, zų-ɔ́
descend, to   zįr-ɔ́, zų nu
desire   wɔ
destroy, to   ʔnaŋ-á
dew   mɛ́m
diarrhea, to have   hufi(ó)
die, to   fe-á; to die off   fe sí-ʔday
different   ʔdɛ́k ʔdɛ́k, záŋ
difficult   ŋgay
dig, to   zą-á
dip up, to   ʔdu-ó
direction   sí, wár-
dirty   ndíiŋ
disagree, to   si fɛ̨ɛ́
discrimination, without   rɔy rɔy
dispute, to   sar-á, si ką́fɛ́
do, to   dɛ-á; to do something for a year   dɛ pɛ
dog   toró
domesticated animal   mɔ-́day
done   sɔ́n
doorway   nú-tuwa
down: to sit down   dųŋ nu; to put down   e nu
drag, to   gbur-ó
dregs, beer   geʔde-́dɔ̨ɔ́
dress: to put on clothes   pį túrú; to get dressed up for a special occasion   dɛ bisa (for male), dɛ zɔ́ŋá (for female)
drink, to   nɔ-á
drum (ctn.)   dal, gata
dry up, to   kor-á
dry season   bɛrɛ
dust   fire-́nu

E

each: each person   wí-ré kpém kpém; each other   ŋmaá
ear   zɛra

early sát
earth nu
easily gére
eat, to: in general yɔ̨ŋ-á; to eat food with sauce which is entirely liquid ri-ó; to be eaten away (as in leprosy) ʔbir-ó
edge nú
egg kúri
eight nú-ną́ą́
elder sɔ́kái
elephant fɔrɔ
end nú
enemy wí-gida
enough, to be rɛm-á
entangled, to get kɔk-á
enter, to: sg. subj. re-á; pl. subj. a-á
equal, to be rɛm-á
even if ʔbaa, gba
evening mbóro, gą́á fara
every: every person wí-ré kpém kpém sɔ́n; we get out every day ɛrɛ hɔ́ nɛ́ wesé wesé
everything láázák
exactly rɛ́k rɛ́k
excrement ʔnɔ̨ɔ
expanse bɛrá
explanation goʔdó
expose someone, to sa yín
extend, to yɔ̨y-á
extract, to dak-á
eye ríp

F

fable to
fall, to ay-á, tek-á, rįk nu
family nam
far, to be yɛ̨r-á
fat (grease) nɔ́
fat, to become ŋmgbaŋ-á
father yám
fault yɔ́á mɔ
fear kéey
feather vúmɔ́-nɔ̨́y
fee tįrɛ
feel, to tam-á
female kó-
ferocious, to act dɛ ŋgay
fetish fiyo
few ndéé
fibers (extracted in the preparation of flour) zak
fight biro; to fight with a person bi biro ín wí-ré
find, to kpa-á
finger ér-
finish, to sɔn-á
finished sɔ́n
fire wey; to make a fire tusi wey
firewood gúwá
first tí
fish zoro; (ctn.) ŋmgbíim, yąra
fishhook yaŋgo
five mɔ̨ɔrɔ́
fix, to ʔdafi(á)
flee, to yu-ó
flesh (boneless meat) mųr-
flower, to do-á
fly zį́
fly, to bųri(ɔ́)
fog kutú
follow, to nɛ kɔ́ɔ́ (lit. go back)
food kam, mɔ́-yɔ̨ŋi, yɔ̨́ná
fool wí-bɔɔ
foot náŋ
footprint bɔlɔ-náŋ
for há$_2$, wen, wen kó; for a year dɛ pɛ (lit. do year)
forcefully vip, vąy
forehead dɔ̨́ɔ́tí
forelegs (of animal) ʔbaka
four ną́r-
friend ʔbiya
from há$_2$, sɛn
front tí; front of a house nú-tuwa
fruit wáyá
fry, to han-á
fun, to have dɛ gɛ̨́

G

gallery-forest poo

game (in play)   saa
garden   fɔ; deserted garden   biri
gather, to   mɔ̨y-á
gaze, to   kɛ̨r-á
get, to: to acquire   kpa-á; to get down   zįr-ɔ́; to get up   kur-ó; to get out (sg. subj.) hɔ-á, (pl. subj.) gbay-á
girl   bé-kóo; adolescent girl   zɔ́ŋá
give, to   ha-á; to give up   e rá
go, to   nɛ-á; to go to the gardens (of many people)   a fɔ; to go on laŋgi(á); (in the making of noise) wey-á
goat   duwa
God   Nzapá
good   dé, déʔdé; to be good   rɔ̨k-á
grab, to   ką si(á)
grass   zɔ̨́
grassland   zɔ̨́
grave-site   zu-́fey
greet, to   mba-á
ground   nu
ground-nut (ctn.)   gba zawa
grow up, to   sɔk-á
guest   gɛnɛ
gun   ŋgombe, wey

H

hail   mų́rú
hair   vúmɔ́; ctn. style of setting the hair   gúdam
hand   ér-
hang something, to   ʔbuk-ó
happiness   gɛ̨́, too tɛ
happy, to be   dɛ saa, kɛli(á)
hard   ŋgay. See also very
harden, to   ŋgay-á
hatch chicks, to   gɔm bé-kɔ̨rá
hate, to   sɛn-á
have: I have a knife   paa kɔ́m ɔ́ sɛnɛ́; I have to do it like this   ɔ́ nɛ́ wen kɔ́m wen-́dɛ gɔ̨́y
he   ą
head   tan, zu
healthy   kpɔrɔ kpɔrɔ
hear, to   zer-á
heart: the organ   ʔbúrúŋgú; the seat of emotions   sɛra
heavy, to be   dįr-ɔ́, dįti(ɔ́)
here   dį́yɛ, gɔ́ɔ, na; here and there íyɛ . . . íyɛ
hide (of animal)   yo
hide, to   husi(ó), gu-ó
hill   kara
hip   ką́-gun
hippopotamus   ŋguʔbú
hit, to: with hand or stick   rįk-ɔ́; with flying object (such as stone) ro-á
hoe, to   wa-á
hog, bush   ŋgɔyá
hold, to: to seize and hold on to ką si(á); to keep   ŋgɛm-á
hole: in but not through an object kɔ̨; in and through an object   woro
home: I'm going home   am sí ré
honey   nɔ́-gɔ̨rɔ, ri-́gɔ̨rɔ
hoof   kátó
horn (of animal)   zak
hot, to be   gbɛŋ-á; it's hot   ɔ́ wey
house   tuwa
how (the way)   ʔdoŋ-wáá
hunger   wɔ
hunt animals, to   kiʔdi saʔde
hunting   yarí
hurriedly   lám
hurt, to   yųm-ɔ́
husband   wéey
hut   kútu

I

I   See 382.1
if: even if   ʔbaa; whether   gán. See bo-á, nɛ-á (aux.), tɛ-á (aux.), wesé
in   ʔdɔr-, kɔ̨, zaŋ; in the morning nɛ́ ture
inadequate, to be   naŋ-á
indeed   nɛ mbɛ́tɛ
in-laws   foo, kɔfɛ; brother-, sister-in-law   yąrɛ

in order to há$_1$, íŋáá
inside kɔ̨, saŋa
instruction mbɔra
intestines yą̀k-zaŋ
iron boro

J

just ʔbay

K

keep, to ŋgɛm-á; to keep on doing something dų̀ŋ-ɔ́, nɛ nɛ́ (lit. go with); to keep something from someone dor-á; when they keep beer from you bó wá ba dɔ̨ɔ́ nɛ́ zu-mɛ́
kernel gbąra
kill, to gbɛ-á
kind, to be dɛ kpém kɔ̨̀-sɛra ín
knee zù-goro
knife paa; throwing knife za
know, to įŋ-ɔ́; to know how to įŋ ʔdoŋ-wáá wen
knowledge sɔ́ká

L

lacking, to be naŋ-á
large gą́sá, zɔm; to be large zį-ɔ́
later ʔdoŋ, kuu oróai
laugh, to mam-á
law mbɔra
lead, to dak tí
leaf wą́
lean, to ɛk-á
leather yo
leave something, to e-á
left: left side wáá-gale; to remain ʔmɔn-á
leg kú
lengthwise nɛ dúróa
leopard gɔ̨
leprosy ŋmgbɛ́rɛ́
let (permit), to e há
lie down, to ɔ nu
life kpasi
lightning pį́ɔ́ kóro
like, to goy-á, rɔ̨k tɛ
like (in comparison) óró . . . gá; be like men ya nɛ wéey; like this gáa, gɔ̨́y
lime (for whitewashing) fɔrɛ
lion dila
lip wééy-nú
lip-plug mų́rú
listen, to zee wen
little fį́í, gɛk
live, to: in a certain place dųŋ-ɔ́, ɔ-á; to be alive kpasi(á); to live a long time dųŋ záan
liver sɛra
long: to be long (of an object) dur-ó, of time yɛ̨r-á; long time ago ʔbéé
look for, to kiʔdi(ó)
lose, to: I lost my knife paa kɔ́m yɔá; I've lost my way ám yɔá ʔdoŋ-wáá
love, to goy-á
luck kɔ́rɔ́-tɛ
lungs poopó

M

make, to dɛ-á; to make porridge ru-ó; to make something straight ʔdafi há ɔ́ tán
male wéey
man wéey; young man bisa
manioc geʔda; manioc leaves used as food sukpa
manly dɛ tɛ nɛ wéey (lit. do body with man)
manner ʔdoŋ-wár-
many dɔ́ka; to be many dɛm-á, dɛ̨r-á, dɔk-á
marry, to: to take a husband ba wéey, to take a wife ba kóo
master wan
mat tóko
mature, to sɔk-á
meat saʔde

medicine yįna
meet, to kpa-á; to meet someone on his way we tí; to meet each other kpa ŋmaá; to meet in the middle mɔ̧y tɛ-́saŋa
message tom; to send a message tom tom
middle saŋa
milk ri-́bere
mind, to set one's e kélé
mix up (a paste), to yufi
molar (teeth) gogo
money ŋginza
monkey: green monkey dawa; red monkey mboró
month ze
moon ze
morning ture; very early in the morning zu-́zɛ
mother naa
mountain kara
mouth nú
move something toward oneself, to yɔli(á)
much dɔ́ka, ʔdɛ́, nɛ́ saa ná

N

nail: fingernail ŋgɔ́k-éé
name yín; what's-his-name mɔ só
near dɔ̧́ɔ́; to get near heʔdi(á)
necessary, to be ɔ wen kó
neck gɛ́r-
new mbé
next to ká̧-tɛ
night zɛ; during the night which just passed zɛɛ nɛ́ zɛ
nice looking ndɛ́ɛ́r
nine kusi
noise: to make noise gay mɔ; to make a thunderous noise dik-ó; noise of many feet gítí
nose zɔ̧p
nostril plug ŋgabala
not (in predication) gan . . . ná
nothing: there's nothing ŋma mɔ gan bó ná
now kín, kínɛɛ
numerous, to be dɛ̧r-á

O

obey, to zee tɛ, zee oro-nú, zee mbɔra
obstruct, to ʔmɛ̧r-á
of kó
often ŋmá̧ŋ ŋmá̧ŋ
old á̧; to become old sɔk-á; old person sɔ́kái
on gɔ́n, sɛn, zu
one kpém. See determinant 213.1
only ʔbay
open, out in the kpɛ̧́yá, záan
or wéndé . . . gan
ornament: boys' mɔ-́dɛ bisa, girls' mɔ-́dɛ zɔ́ŋá
other: each other ŋmaá; some other ŋma . . . záŋ
out of há$_2$
outside záan
over zu
over there aáyɛ, íyɛ
owl (ctn.) kpolo
owner wan

P

paper mbɛ́tí
pass on, to laŋgi(á)
path wár-, ʔdoŋ-wáá
paw ér-
pay (bride-price) har-á, ha mbɔy bɔlɔ-kóo
payment (for ctn. kinds of services) tįrɛ
peanut zawa
peel, to ʔba-á, ą̧y-á, ʔbar-á
pen (goat) valé
penis dom
persevere, to yɔ̧ŋ yín (lit. eat teeth)
perseverance kpɛ̧tí
perseveringly kɔʔdɔrɔ kɔʔdɔrɔ
person wí-ré, wí-
pierce, to tok-á; to make a hole ʔdɔy-á

place fara; particular place, back in the same place oro
place, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj. a-á
plans, to make gɔn tą
plant, to: seeds gųn-ɔ́, by stems mą-á
plaster a house with mud, to kpe tuwa nɛ́ gey
play, to: games dɛ saa; drum or stringed instrument mbɛr-á
please, to rɔ̨k tɛ
pluck (leaves), to kɔ̨m-á
plural marker ó
poke in, to yur-ó
porter wí-toy mɔ, wí-tóyáa
possible tɛ-á (aux.)
pot kpána
pound, to to-á; to pound bark in making cloth ŋmgbɔ-á
pray to (fetish), to wer-á
pregnant, to be ba zaŋ
prepare, to ʔdafi(á)
presence, in the tɛ-ríp
press down on, to ŋma-á
prevent, to ʔmɛ̨r-á
previously tí
probably tɛ-á (aux.)
produce (food) yɔ̨́ná
puddle mbɔ́ŋgɔ́
pull, to gbur-ó; to pull out (as intestines) yɔy-á
pumpkin say
push, to: to push down on something įsi(ɔ́); to push something to make it move forward ir-ó
put, to: sg. obj. e-á, pl. obj. a-á; to put on (clothes) a tɛ, pį tɛ; to put something on the waist mąr-á

Q

quiet sélélé; to be quiet yoo nɛ nú
quiver nder-

R

rack guro
rain kóro
rainy season ʔmaa; beginning of the rainy season nú-kóro
rapidly gɛ̨rɛŋ
read, to tɔ̨ɔ mbɛ́tí
real kpaa, kpásá
red, to be gbɛ̨-á
refuse, to bɛ̨-á
reject, to bɛ̨-á
relative nam
remain, to ʔmɔn-á
remainder koy
resolute, to be kaŋgi kɔ̨-́sɛra
responsible person wí-mbóá zu
responsibility: it is my responsibility to do it this way ɔ́ nɛ́ wen kɔ́m wen-́dɛ gɔ̨́y
rest, to ɔm tɛ
restrain, to mbo-á
restrictions, without rɔy rɔy
return, to: to another place si ʔdoŋ, to the place where one is speaking pee ʔdoŋ
right hand wáá-wéey (lit. direction of man)
right (correct): that's correct ɔ́ nɛ́ ʔdoŋ-wáraa
right, all wen gan bó ná (lit. there is no affair)
right (precisely): right in the bush ʔmɔ́n ʔdɔɔ-zɔ̨́
right away bere
rip off, to ąy-á, ŋmgban-á
river ri
roam, to yar-á
roast, to dɔ-á
roll up, to kąr-á
root yín
rope pɛ́r-; ctn. gba dį́rɔ
rot (of meat), to mbɔr-á
round kokoroŋ, kor
rub, to: to rub between the palms of one's hands nųr-ɔ́; to rub (as with sandpaper), crush hɔ̨ŋ-á; to

rub, grate, scrub, sharpen (a knife) hɔ̨k-á
ruin, to ʔnaŋ-á
rumbling gbíígbíí
run, to zaʔdi yui

S

sack daná
salt tɔ́ŋ
same, to be rɛm-á
sand rɛ̨mɛ
sauce (which accompanies porridge in a meal) kpoó
save, to: to put something aside ŋgem-á; to save money ndoy ŋginza; to save a life zam-á
say, to tɔ̨-á; gende gá ye ge
screen for sleeping place kuʔbú
search for something afar, to kir-ó
secretely, to speak nɔn tɔ̨
see, to zɔk-á; see someone face to face zɔk kɔ̨-ríp-wí-ré
seed gbąra; planting-seed kpárɛ́
selfish, to be dɔ nąká
send, to tom-á
sesame sunu; roasted sesame seeds mbúre
set (of sun), to re-á
seven ʔdoŋ rííto
severely, to speak tɔ̨ wen ŋgay
sew, to: sew pieces of cloth together fųr-ɔ́; to sew by putting a stitch here and there kɔk-á; sew in a special way tok-á
sex organs mɔ-́foyo (lit. thing of shame)
sexual relations, to have ndɔ-á
shake, to: to tremble nąk-á; to shake something back and forth yɛk-á; to shake hands kąsi ér-
shame foyo
shame, to e foyo
sharp, to be tɔ-á
shed, to ʔbar-á
shield ŋgéré
shine (of sun), to dɔ-á
shoot, to ndɔr-á
short dɔ̨́ɔ́
shoulder zu-́ʔbaka
show, to usi(ó)
shut, to kaŋgi(á), kpe-á
sibling yą́
sickness zɛ́rɛ́
side ką́; other side (of river) kúú
since: since I arrived yesterday mɔ nɛm tɛà zɛ́ɛ
sing, to sa gima
sister yą́-kóo; my sister yą́ kɔ́m nɛ kóo
sit, to dųŋ-ɔ́, soy-á
six ʔdoŋ kpém
skin (of animals) yo
skin (an animal), to ʔbor-á
skirt (woman's): worn in front gɔy, worn in rear daʔdoŋ
sky ríp-záan
sleep yara; to be asleep ɔ yara
slip off, to hɔfi(á)
slowly gɛʔdɛ́k, gɛk
small bé-, gɛk
smell, to nųn-ɔ́
smoke zɛ̨́-wey
smoke (meat, fish), to guri(ó)
smooth, to be rɔk-á
snake gɔ́k
so (conj.) See connectives
soft, to be mɔk-á
some: adj. ŋma, pron. ŋmaa
somebody ŋma wí-ré
something ŋma mɔ
son bé-wéey, bé-ŋgay
son-in-law wéey-́kɔfɛ
song gima
soon dɔ̨́ɔ́
sorghum (grain) fón
sound, to make a wer-á
speak, to tɔ̨ wen; to not speak (be silent) yoo nɛ nú
spear sɛ́rɛ
spear, to dųm-ɔ́
specialist kote
Spider (in fables) Wan to
spit, to a są́p

split, to   mbaŋ-á
spread abroad, to   hųr-ɔ́
spring (source of stream)   zuˊri
stalk   kan
stand, to   yor-á
star   sɔ́rá
stare, to   kęr-á
start, to: to start a fight   kų sɛ́rɛ; to start doing something   kų ną́ŋá-dɛ mɔ
steal, to   zu-ó
stick   te, bé-te
stick, to: to pierce   dųm-ɔ́, tok-á; to stick through   yur-ó; to stick out   yɔ̨y-á
still: the animal is still on the ground   saʔde ʔmɔná go ɔ́ nu
stomach   súʔbé; abdomen   zaŋ
stone   ta
stoop down, to   hir-ó
stop, to: stop walking   gbati(á); stop flowing or raining   ŋmąy-á
straight, to be   tan-á
strength   ŋgay
string   pɛ́r-; to make string   rįfi(ɔ́)
strong   ŋgay
stump (of tree)   gísó
suck (at breast), to   am-á
suddenly   tut
sun   wesé
surpass, to   gan-á
sweat   sɔ̨ bɛra
sweet   į́rírí
swiftly   hóv̂óv̂ó
swim, to   zoy ri
switch (for whipping)   zįfa

T

tabooed, to avoid something   zįm-ɔ́
tail   tįr-
take, to: sg. obj.   ba-á, pl. obj. kay-á; to take something back   si nɛ́
talk, to   tɔ̨ wen; to talk about someone   ba yín
taste good, to   dɛ rɔ̨ɔ
teach, to   usi(ó)
tear off, to   ąk-á
teeth   yín; molars   gogo
ten   ʔbú
terrible: he ate a terrible amount of food   ą́ yɔ̨ŋá kam gó gan rɛ́m ná
that (demonstrative)   įí
that (conj.)   ye ge, nɛ
then   See conn., expecially go, tɛ
there   dį́i, íyɛ, mɛ, sɛnɛ́
they   wa
thick (as piece of cloth, wood), to be   ndoti(á)
thing   mɔ
think, to   saa sék
thirst   hɛ̨́ɛ́-ri
this   ɛ̨ɛ́, nɔ́ɔ; like this   gɔ̨́y
thousand (of francs)   sáki
three   tar-
throat   gɛ́r-
throw, to: a-á, e-á, pį-ɔ́; to throw a spear   pį sɛ́rɛ; to throw down   dɔ̨n-á; to throw away   pį zɔ̨́
throwing-knife   za
thunder, to   kóro dik
tie, to: to tie into a knot   kpo-á; to tie up   hęr-á; to tie together   kpo nɛ́ ŋmaá; to tie long objects together   sin-ó
tightly   ŋmíʔní ŋmíʔní, sį́yú sį́yú
time, for a long   gɔ̨́y gɔ̨́y, ŋmgbóŋ; I'll be gone a long time   kɔ́rɔ́m nɛ́ yęrá (lit. my back will be long)
times: three times   wáá fara taa
tip   nú
tired, to be   gbɔʔdi(á)
to: purposive   há$_1$:   join noun to verb   wen, wen kó; join verb to noun   há$_2$, mɔ́, tɛ; to go to the garden   nɛ fɔ
today   sɔ́ɔ
together   ín ŋmaá
tongue   lép
too (in comparisons)   gán zúa (lit. surpasses the head)
tooth   yín
top   gɔ́n, zu

torch kan
touch, to tam-á
toward tɛ
track down, to ʔma-á
tracks; animal tracks bɔlɔ-náŋ-saʔde
trap yɔk; to set traps for fish dɛ ri
tree te; ctn. trees gbiro-́fɔ, gbɔgbɔl, kɛ́rá, lúŋmgbé, túrú, zɔɔ́rɔ
tremble: to tremble ną̄k-á; to make a spear tremble gboʔdi(á); descr. of trembling sɛm sɛm, yɛtɛtɛ
trust, to e kélé ín
truth kpasí wen, mbɛ́tɛ
tuck in, to sɛ̨m-á
turn: to turn around gam tɛ, kip tɛ; to turn to one side zik-ó
twins bé-dan
two rííto

U

uncle sɔ́rám, bé-yám
underneath ʔdɔr-
understand, to zee tɛ, zɔk-á
unite, to a kɔ́ɔ́-ŋmaá
unwisely rɔy rɔy
up ŋgɔ́n
urine íni; to urinate sɔ̨ íni
utensils toy

V

vagina ton
vainly zą̄a
very ʔdɛ́, nɛ́ saa ná, gan rɛ́m ná
village ré
villager wí-zaŋ-ré
voice gɛ́r-
vomit, to ɔ̨y-á

W

waist gun
wait for, to ŋgɛm-á
waken, to tų̄n-ɔ́
walk, to nɛ nɔ, yar-á
want, to kɔ̨ ʔdoŋ; I want this meat am kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ-saʔde nɔ́ɔ; I want to go hunting am kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋ-nɛ yarí
war biro
wash, to fɔr-á
water ri
way ʔdoŋ-wáá; the right way ʔdoŋ-wáraa
we ɛrɛ
wealth kpáá mɔ (lit. gotten thing)
weapons boro-́biro
weave, to fan-á
well (in a good manner) są̄k-á; he speaks well ą tɔ̨́ są́k
wet: to wet (in rain) ŋma-á; it's wet ɔ́ ri
what? ge
what (pron.) wen, mɔ; I didn't see what he did gan am zɔk mɔ ną ą dɛái ná; I didn't hear what he said gan am zee wen ną ą tɔ̨ái ná
what's-his-name aáyɛ, mɔ só
when? ge wesé-ge, ge ze-́ge; when will you return? nɛ́ mɛ́ pee ge ze-́ge ndé
when (conj.) See fara, wesé, and aux. bo and gó; when you hear about the affair wesé nɛ bó mɛ́ zee wení
where? íye; where did you go? mɛ́ nɛà íye ndé
where: I don't know where he went gan am ɟ̨ŋ fara ną ą nɛá sɛnɛ́ ná
whether wéndé . . . gan
which See nɛ, 332.4; the thing which I want mɔ nɛm kɔ̨́ ʔdoŋáa
while aux. dų̄ŋ-ɔ́. See when
whirlwind gam guram
whistle, to dɔm fɛ̨ra
white bú; descr. of very white zólóló
white, to be fɛŋ-á
white man mbunzú
who? o, ge wí-ge ndé

who See nɛ; I saw the woman who came yesterday ám zɔkà kóoi nɛ tɛà zɛ́ɛ
why? wen-́ge ndé; why aren't you eating? ge a mɛ yɔ̧́ŋ kam ná wen-́ge ndé
wide, to be pesi(á)
wife kóo
wind búk
wing ʔbaka
witch, female kó-duwa
with ín, nɛ́
within saŋa
woman kóo; young woman zɔ́ŋá
word wen
work kusára, mɔ-́dɛi, tom
work, to dɛ mɔ, dɛ tom; to work for a wife dɛ kɔfɛ wen kó kóo
worthless gére
wound dą̧y

Y

yam gɔrɔ
yard, front gara
year pɛ
yesterday zɛ́ɛ
yet: I haven't done it yet ʔmɔná gó gan am dɛ́ ná
you: sg. mɛ́, pl. wí
young: young dog, pup bé-toró; he's still young ʔmɔnà béa; (he) hasn't grown up yet ʔmɔná gó gan sɔ́k ná

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